714 Finally, battle dress is part of
the Murundi. When the bodyguards
shall see later (p. 87), the actual
battle, they wear a uniform consist
tanned antelope hide or sheepskin (
[302] their skulls, faces, and the upper pa
kinds of white and red lines and orn
a terrifying, savage appearance (No
uniform is also worn at war dances.
Ruanda where, in addition to this u
for example, a headdress and foot r
Bahima in Ufipa have the same kind
and in Ruanda (cf. illustration in Le

● 172 411 Old stone weapons, the remna
which have disappeared (see p. 15
in use any more in Urundi even am
oldest ethnic element; the same i

[36] Chapter

Hunting, Fishing, Stock Farmin

1. Hunting a

224 Hunting (uwuhisi) plays
of the Barundi, for in an area
almost completely denuded of
systematically exterminated in
and pastures as in the regions s
only a few animals left which
the most frequent ones are the
found mainly in the narrow bus
of the streams and also the tuft
Jimela antelope. As far as othe
concerned, the elephant is occa
populated areas, in the deserted

lves
The
Bahutu
ack-

crigin
the coun-
eir two
ndu. One
ee chil-
Kissaka,
the sky).
ersed in
married
when
n, he came
ants of
re called
me very

when
an to
of his
rst to
all

His
use there

The
wa.
ndi;
who
st of
as

thers
Urundi
y means

563 of the ubugaragu contract, can be integrated into the Ruanda society (1). But if a Mututsi of Urundi settles in Ruanda with his

1. There are also Banyarwanda Bahutu who go and settle in Urundi.

abagaragu, although he is the equal of the Batutsi of that country, he and his household are nevertheless considered as foreigners (2).

[166]

2. These migrations are caused by the desire to escape personal vengeance following the accusation of murder, a sentence of banishment pronounced by the king of Urundi, or difficulties encountered by a client in his relations with his patron.

727 In the past, at the time of the wars, the vanquished who were
567 taken prisoner were killed, while the women and the boys and girls were carried off to slavery. A Mututsi could [85] even marry a woman prisoner if she were of noble origin; the children held their father's status. But as a rule he gave her in marriage to one of his clients; the children of such a marriage continued to belong to the master's household, but their descendants were free and thus became Banyarwanda.

567 A slave might even marry a Mututsi woman. It was thus that the Mwami Rwabugiri, who had captured a young man called Rusera Muhima, later gave him his own daughter in marriage and made him a present of the subdistrict of Rugarama in Bunyambiriri.

2. Royal Power

643 The Mwami (king) has supreme authority in Ruanda. We have
● 173 seen that all the traditions ascribe a divine origin to his power. The annalists of the Royal Court (abatshurabgenge) attribute to the present Mwami Mutara Rudahigwa, thirty-nine ancestors who, with the exception of the first, Nkuba, who remained in heaven, have all ruled over Ruanda (1).

1. Many names have certainly been omitted from this list. Assuming that

643
173

it is correct, the domination of the Batutsi over Ruanda would go back nearly four centuries.

[565] 643 The Abanyiginya and the Abega are the most influential noble families of the country, and kings and queens have been chosen from among them since the earliest times.

[551] The kings of Ruanda have two names, that given them at birth (Musinga, Rudahigwa) and that given them on their accession (Yuhi, Mutara).

When the Mwami dies royal power passes to one of his sons, generally to one of the youngest.

The divine origin attributed to royalty and the legitimacy conferred on the king by a very long heredity led to the [86] acknowledgment of a third characteristic of royal power, that is to say, autocracy.

[423] The Mwami is the undisputed master of the whole country, of the land (fields and pastures), of the cattle, as well as of the people. He is the only real proprietor, all those on whom he bestows his generosity being merely his life tenants.

643 425 He does not necessarily own the land which he cultivates himself, and he does not need to, since his revenues are enriched by the tributes and payments owed to him by each of his subjects. When he is young he receives in appanage from the king, his father, one or several provinces, as well as cattle, and servants. On his accession he may keep all these provinces or give them to others (1).

1. Mutara Rudahigwa has kept his provinces of Nduga and Marangara but has shifted the responsibility of their administration to an umutware.

His favors may be bestowed to anybody, to a Muhutu and even to a Mutwa, whom he can raise immediately to the highest rank. Formerly, even in Musinga's time, those who had ceased to please the Mwami, or simply those whose property he coveted, could be dispossessed any day regardless of their high positions, all influence taken from them, and they themselves exiled from the country. Today, if the Mwami wishes to occupy a certain hill, he asks one

643 644 are paid the Mwamikazi as to her son, hand clappings repeated three times (gukoma mumashyi). After the death of the Mwami (3),

3. Or rather, as the Banyarwanda say, "When he puts on his drum," for it is forbidden to say that the King is dead.

his mother no longer plays any official role.

3. The Sacred Drum

778 ●173 The origin of the Kalinga is said to go back to Ruganzu Ndoli. While the latter, who was not yet king, was fighting against the Karagwe (Uganda), the Abakongoro of Kivu attacked Ruanda and killed the Mwami Ndahiro Chyamatara, father of Ndoli.

Returning from war, the latter stopped at Busigi (territory of Biumba), where a rich proprietor called Minyaruka presented a magnificent drum to the glorious victor.

778 643 The Kalinga is the very symbol of royalty (4). [89] Hung on

4. The Banyarwanda say, Kalinga ibuze nta Mwami (lit., the drum was burned, there is no King). This proverb must not be taken literally for, on the other hand, the people of Ruanda say, Hagum'Umwami ingoma irabazwa, (lit., find the King (important thing), the drum (unimportant thing is only wood). [89]

its stretched cords are the ibikondo, virile attributes of the principal enemies vanquished and killed by the kings of Ruanda. It is also [787] regularly sprinkled with the blood of victims sacrificed on occasions for auguries. Truly royal honors are given to the Kalinga; it is not made to resound but the other drums sound in its honor (1). It is

1. Kulamutza, "to salute (the king)." The drums are beaten every morning when the king leaves his apartments to begin his day as a public person.

231
173 [91] Legendary tradition attributes to Nyiraruchyaba, daughter of Gihanga, the introduction of cattle into Ruanda. One day when she went to cut wood, she noticed whitish patches on the ground. Being very thirsty and not finding any water nearby, she took her drinking-straw and drank the white liquid. Finding this drink delicious, she wished to know whence it came. She went into the forest and came upon a horned animal that was losing through its udder a liquid identical to that she had just drunk. In the meantime as Gihanga had fallen seriously ill, she brought him some of the white liquid. The patient drank it and recovered quickly. He asked his daughter where the medicine had come from and she brought him the animal. The cow was called ingizi (from kugira neza, to heal well). Since that time the Banyarwanda have had a great veneration for horned cattle.

232 Along with ordinary cattle (inkuku) the Mwami owns herds of scrupulously selected cows which, without being precisely the object of a cult as in ancient Egypt, are treated with particular care and are in the foreground at all festivals. These are the Inyambo (1).

1. The word Inyambo designates an animal, a herd, or all the herds together.

The origin of the Inyambo goes back to the Mwami Yuhi Mazimpaka. This king chose fine long-legged cows with long horns and a shiny dark brown coat (ibihogo) and mated them with a young and vigorous bull. The selected herd was kept apart in the province of Rukoma near the Nyabarongo River. These cows multiplied and from them the best ones continually selected. Under the preceding Mwami, Yuhi Musinga, the Inyambo were divided into two herds, one called agakanda and the other indoha. Musinga [92] added a third and called them respectively Inyuba hilo (the ones to be respected) or herd of Gihanga; Inshya (the new ones) or herd of Kigeri Ndabarasa which contained a remarkable bull called Rushya; and finally Ingabe (the dominating ones) or herd of Kigeri Rwabugiri.

The three herds combined were called Insanga. At the full moon in June they were led in procession to the Mwami amidst dancing and joyful cries (gukura gichurasi, lit., to carry off the month of May) (1).

821 1. The month of May, during which according to tradition Mwami Gihanga died.

563 extremely suspicious; I have rarely seen a Mutwa ["mu-" is prefix for singular] laugh. They are an old, tired race of people, approaching extinction in the not too distant future. For this reason it is high time that the remnants of this people be methodically studied by an ethnological expert during an extended stay. This seems to me to be one of the most rewarding tasks to be accomplished in our East Africa which is so rich in ethnological problems.

The agricultural Bahutu, the main population of Urundi, [162] number approximately one and a half million and belong to the so-called basic Bantu of central East Africa, as also do the Wanjamwesi [Nyamwezi]. According to their traditions, they [173] came to Urundi from the east, that is, from the direction of the southern end of Lake Victoria and spread farther and farther west, clearing the forests. They speak almost the same Bantu [197] dialect as the inhabitants of Ruanda and those of Uha. Strangely enough, their conquerers, the Hamitic Batussi, and the tribe they subjugated, the Batwa, also speak only this Bantu dialect, while in the neighboring states to the east and north the entire population speaks Kinjoro ["Ki-" is a prefix indicating language], in certain parts also Kissumbwa. (Regarding the remnants of an older Kirundi dialect, see p. 148.) On the [144] other hand, in Urundi and Ruanda the Bantu have changed their ethnic and somatic character somewhat under the influence of [177] their Hamitic conquerors. These, the Batussi, have assumed within the few centuries of their conquest the language, dress (barkcloth), and many customs of the Bantu, but in exchange they have given them something of their blood, their type of dwelling (round huts), their big-horn cattle, and their political organization.

Nothing is known of the history of the Bahutu of Urundi and Ruanda in the period before the rule of the Batussi. Only in conjunction with their Batussi conquerors do the Bahutu step into the light of African history. From then on there exists a history of the Barundi, the political community consisting of Batussi nobility, Bahutu people, and Batwa pariahs (see p. 151 [not translated]).

614 This enlarged family, which comprises the younger brothers
[592] and their children, the cousins and servants attached to the household (1), takes the name of umulyango, which has the same meaning as

1. Funck-Brentano, L'Ancien Régime /The Old Regime/, p. 15.

mesnie from the Latin mansionata, "household." Eventually the tribe became too large and split up. Each subtribe then took the name of the new chief while retaining as a reminder the name of the common ancestor. In other words, the major clans divided as time went on and remained bound to the mother tribe under a new name.

The Bagwabiro of Bugoyi are descended from a Migwabiro rain-maker who belonged to the Muhutu /sing. of Bahutu/ clan of the Basinga.

173 He left his village of Suti (Munyambiriri), and, after a vain
614 attempt at colonization in the Kinyaga, settled in the Bugoyi during the reign of Chyilima II Ludjugira, around 1700 or thereabouts. He was reunited there with his son Macchumu, who played an important role in the fight against the famous "Mutes," or "men with an incomprehensible tongue."

614 A change of territory, a raise to the noble ranks, an important role played in some event, the holding of a post at court, etc., such were some of the motives that determined the creation of new clans. In the following pages, we shall describe many examples of such recent formations.

We shall now provide a brief list of clans.

1. Batutsi Ethnic Group

a) The two major clans:
Abanyiginya, from which the royal family originated.
Abega.

b) The secondary clans:
Abatsobe (Gatsobe, Nyirarutsobe).
Abaha, which came from the Uha.

Chapter 3

Short Historical Account of the Hamitic Invasion of Ruanda

●173 Our intention here is to furnish a summary that will enable the reader to encompass with a quick look the history of Ruanda and the gradual conquest of the territory by the Hamites.

This small summary, we believe, will facilitate the understanding of the narratives, romances, and legends which we have intentionally linked with the career of each monarch.

We beg the indulgence of the reader in regard to the evaluations and opinions of the author concerning the narratives and incidents /73/ which are discussed below. He had as a guide only the traditional documentation available, that is to say, that of strictly oral transmission.

These traditions may be vague, incomplete, legendary, and even sometimes contradictory, depending on whether they were narrated by one or another individual, in one region or another. One must be glad, nevertheless, that they have come down to us, curtailed and distorted as they may be. No doubt there must be very few primitive peoples (1) with a folklore as rich and varied as that of the

00

1. What is a Primitive? Fr. Bros gives the following definition. The word "primitive" must be explained. It does not designate here the first man or men, but a certain stage of human civilization characterized by crude and unspecialized industries and social customs. In the same sense, one says "populations of inferior culture," "savage or uncivilized peoples."

000

What is a primitive? By what signs is he recognized? Historians traditionally regard as primitive prehistoric peoples, the savage populations of the various continents, and also the ancient civilizations antedating the history of the various peoples (Greeks, Romans, Arabs, etc.)

Ethnologists have recently attempted to introduce certain distinctions into this confusion. They have evaluated the degree of primitiveness of various primitive peoples... by tracing every known cycle of civilization geographically through space and historically through time. (Cf. Ecclesia, Encyclopédie populaire des connaissances religieuses /Ecclesia, Popular Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge/, pp. 725 and 726.)

● 173 Banyarwanda. The arrival of the Hamites, or Batutsi, in the area and the influence they exercised there, especially when they entered the central province of Nduga under Mibambge-Mutabazi, twenty-third in the dynasty, transformed Ruanda and its autochthonous inhabitants in more ways than one. The conquerors contributed a great deal to the development of the legends and traditions.

173 814 A great part of what we have to say about Ruanda was related to us by the official historians, abachurabgenge ("knowledge makers"), appointed to the court. From times immemorial, those men have been in charge of preserving the memory of the Hamitic princes' deeds and actions. /74/

•173 They record the genealogy of kings, their birth name and
814 reigning name. They do not overlook the queen-mother's name and that of her clan of origin. They are always at the monarch's beck and call, attend upon him in shifts two by two, and beguile his leisure with the narration of his ancestral lineage and of the exploits that adorn it. It must be admitted that this purely oral tradition is liable to a serious shortcoming, forgetfulness and resulting distortion. Time, that wears away everything, eventually obliterates certain facts and even the names of people whose existence is lost in the mists of time and who are replaced with legends and myths. This is the impression made by the tales of the chroniclers concerning the first sovereigns of the Mututsi /Batutsi/ dynasty. The first nine or ten kings seem to have been invented out of whole cloth. Their genealogy seems to have been created as an afterthought in order to flatter the pride of princes, who are enraptured at the thought of being descended from a long line of ancestors with some demigods among them.

173 These legends, nevertheless, do not lack interest. They disclose native ideas about the creation of the world, the existence of good and evil, the origin of death, etc.

Moreover, the historical outline is revealed in spite of everything and makes it possible for us to divine the political state of affairs in Ruanda at the time of the Batutsi arrival.

Whence did the Hamites come? No one knows exactly. It is likely that they came from the Nkole, which is now part of the Protectorate of Uganda. It is generally agreed that they emerged from the Ndorwa through the northeast and that they stayed for a while at the place called Mutara, which is often mentioned in narratives and legends.

While some of them settled more or less definitively in the Ndorwa region and its immediate surroundings, others continued their journey and successively established the kingdoms of Ruanda, Gissaka, /75/ Burundi, and Uha (1). The first stopping places and first conquests

1. The eight small kingdoms located in the territory of the Bahaya shore dwellers of lake

●173

/sic/ Nyanza) are governed by Bahinda princes of Muhima, that is to say, Mututsi origin, who conquered the area. Those tiny principalities are called by the names of Karagwe, Kitara, Kiziba, Bugabo, Kyamtwara, Kiyanja, Ihangiro, and Usui. Their total surface adds up to 30, 000 or 35, 000 square kilometers, while Lake Nyanza covers 68, 600 square kilometers. (Cf. Anthropos, 1927, "Comment les Bahaya interprètent leurs origines /How the Bahaya Interpret their Origins/, " by Rev. Fr. César.)

In the Unyamwezi, especially near Tabora, one still finds Hamitic groups who have retained their customs and language and who live on good terms with the autochthonous inhabitants of the region. The royal family of the Ufipa is partially of Mututsi racial stock. (Cf. Aux Rives du Tanganika /On the Shores of the Tanganyika/, by Mgr. Lechaptois, Maison-Carrée, Algiers.)

of the Hamites who founded the kingdom of Ruanda were the Buganza, Bwana-Chambge, and Buliza, the plateaus of Bussigi and Luhanga, the Bumbogo, etc. The Buganza was part of Gissaka kingdom for a while, and the Bwana-Chambge, in turn, was divided between the two Hamitic states. The Batutsi, united at first, soon began to make war on each other and to dispute the land. There were fratricidal wars in which the conquered autochthonous inhabitants took part.

Prior to the Hamitic penetration, the Bahutu, or aborigines of Bantu racial stock, were divided into a number of principalities, the stronger of which attempted to absorb the weaker.

● 173 The varied origins of the tribes which occupied this area explain the multitude of autonomous groups found by the newcomers. The northern populations came almost in their entirety from the Mpororo and Ndorwa.

To the west, the Bagoyi on the east shore of Lake Kivu came from the Bgisha, Gishari, Mushari, Kamuronsi, and Bunyabungu, all of which are areas situated north and west of the lake. To the southwest, the Kinyaga inhabitants are a mixture of Banyabungu and Barundi /Rundi/. To the south and to the east, the population seems closely related to that of Urundi and Karagwe.

The most powerful tribe seems to have been the one that inhabited the Nduga. In the times of Kigeri I and /76/ Mibambge I Mutabazi, the tribe was ruled by the famous diviner-sorceror Mashira, who held the combined functions of king and priest. The reputation of this chief was due less to his military exploits than to the supernatural powers with which legend endows him. On the present soil of Ruanda there stood, among many others, the tiny kingdoms of Marangara, Bwana-Mkali (the Barenge), Burwe, Bgishaza, Budaha, Kingogo, Bugamba, Bushiru (1), Buhoma, Luhengeri, Bukonya, etc.

1. A province with a symbolic and meaningful name. The memories it calls to mind could not be expressed better.

[103]

Bushiru is a noun derived from the neutral verb gushira, which means "to end," "to die out." It was lent this area whose inhabitants were incorrigible quarrelers and fighters who scorned death, who were always at war, who exterminated one another, and who killed those travelers who were sufficiently foolhardy to venture into the region.

[173] The families or clans which made up each of those tiny states were at first autonomous and independent from one another. They were self-governed and lacked any well-defined authority. It was only gradually in the course of time that one local chief came to impose his will upon the others. Along with royal prerogatives, and in accordance with his title of sovereign, the man in power took over the functions of sorcerer, diviner, magician, rain maker, etc. The office of sorcerer-king (umuhinza) then became hereditary. The small provinces of Buberuka, Kibali, Buyoka, Bugarura, and especially Mulera, retained their original organization and never had kings. Each tribe governed and administered itself according to its own lights. As a result they were nearly always at war with one another owing to thefts, boundary disputes, or vendettas (2). Peace ruled for a while among

[628]

2. This region was preeminently the land of the vendetta. Individuals would take justice into their own hands, with the help of family or clan members, and were implacable in /seeking/ vengeance.

those tribes only when they banded forces against the common enemy, the detested Hamite, who, in spite of the fact that he had subdued them, had not deemed it safe to settle in the mountainous regions. Ruganzu II and Kigeri IV Lwabugiri are listed among the Hamitic kings who traveled through those areas populated by proud /77/ inhabitants. The mountain dwellers did not make a great show of resistance, but after the princes were gone, they nevertheless continued to lead an independent existence. No Mututsi chief dared settle among those fierce populations. Their only obligation was to pay tribute in kind to the king himself or to the high court dignitary who was supposed to govern the area at a distance.

[184] The Bantu of the central and southern provinces, who make up the greater part of the Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ population, accepted and bore more readily the yoke of the Hamites, who settled among them and shared their way of life (1).

173
184

1. The clans in those provinces are more imbued with Mututsi influence and lack the jealous exclusivism of the tribes situated to the northeast of Lake Kivu. Their mores are gentler, and vendetta never ruled among them with the violence and frequency it assumes, for example, among the Balera and Bagoyi.

173 The vicissitudes of the conquest were numerous and varied. The immigrants used every possible means /to attain their goal/, violence, ruse, and diplomacy. Their chronicles /chansons de geste/ bear witness to this.

It seems that before they entered the land which they were to conquer, the Batutsi formed a solid group ruled by a single chief. The partition of the land and competition for power soon divided their allegiance and engendered fratricidal struggles.

After they had subdued the Bahutu (Bantu) princes, the central Batutsi, who dreamed of being the sole rulers of a vast land, turned against their own brothers who had hewed out small kingdoms in the Ndorwa, Gissaka, and Bugessera regions.

Were the two last-mentioned Hamitic kingdoms contemporary to that of Ruanda? Nothing rules against this possibility, since the columns that invaded Ruanda marched side by side /de front/, at least in the beginning.

King Gihanga, whose symbolic and significant name /78/ means "Creator," seems to have existed although the deeds which are attributed to him have a strongly legendary character. He is tenth in the dynasty. The authenticity of his reign tends to be corroborated by the fact that his original place of residence is said to have been the sacred land of Buhanga in the Muko Plain not far from the large Mukungwa River. Then he is said to have lived in the land of Kibali, at Kangomba, where a sacred grove (ikigabiro) stands. The same tradition locates his tomb, or at least that of his wife Nyirakabego,

●173 in the royal cemetery which retained his name and which is called Luhanga. Must he be regarded as the Hamitic chief who was first to come with his family and a few compatriots and occupy the area, after staying in the Ndorwa at a place called Mutara, which seems to have been the first stopping place of the Batutsi at the threshold of Ruanda?

Along with Ruganzu II, he is of all the ancient kings the one most often mentioned and the one whose legends are prized most highly by the people. According to a curious legend, one of his [173] daughters is said to have discovered and domesticated the first cow, from which the others descended. The narrative built around this memorable event is very popular and contains several episodes. Gihanga is also regarded as the inventor of fire, which he bequeathed to his son and successor.

This alleged discovery has won Gihanga special honors. The official chroniclers maintain the most profound silence about the nine following kings, whose names alone they have preserved.

Did they all really exist? It is not easy to answer this question clearly, for we have not yet left the legendary realm. Gihanga, indeed, is regarded as the father of all men. His sons became the ancestors of all peoples. Kafomo, who is mentioned in the legend concerning the introduction of cows into Ruanda, gave birth to the Bashubbi (Basui), or people of Usui. /79/

Kanyarwanda, the heir to the throne, gave birth to the Banyarwanda. His immediate successor, Musindi, twelfth in the dynasty, is regarded as the founder of the Basindi, or Banyiginya, clan, the most powerful among the Batutsi (1).

1. Most of the important families have picked out for themselves imaginary ancestors. Among some of them, however, the claimed ancestry is authentic.

[191] The sacrificer-diviners, known by the name of Abosha, claim to be descended from the famous Lunukamishyo,

173
[191]

"the man with the sorcerer's knives," who was originally from the Ndorwa and who left it for Ruanda. The important Batsobe family claims to be descended from Gatsobe and Nyirarutsobe, who aided Ruganzu II Ndori in his expedition against Nzira in the land of Bugara.

Families vie with each other to claim the most distant and most illustrious ancestors.

No matter how well devised they may be, these genealogies are practically worthless from a historical standpoint. At best one may regard as true the origin of the Abosha, who belong to the Basinga clan, and that of the Batsobe, who entered the great family of the Banyarwanda a little later.

One must come all the way to Ruganzu I Bwimba and Chyilima I Rugwe, the twentieth and twenty-first in the dynasty, in order to obtain a few historical details of a greater moment. The latter king is said to have been killed at Gasseke where his spirit (umuzimu) is still regularly "soothed" and "honored." The central province of Nduga, it seems, had not yet been invaded by the Batutsi. At that time they may, at best, have occupied the Buganza, the Gissaka, which formed a small Hamitic kingdom, possibly the Bugessera, and later the Bgana-Chambge and the Bumbogo. It is possible that Chyilima I died in the course of an expedition which he carried out to invade the Nduga.

With his two immediate successors, Kigeri I and the latter's son, Mibambge I Mutabasi, we enter an important and better-known historical period.

The present surface of Ruanda was still covered with tiny autonomous kingdoms.

•173 [635] The small provinces of Bukonya, Mulera, Buhoma, Bushiru, Luhengeri, Kingogo and Bgishaza, all of which are situated toward the north and west, formed as /80/ many mutually independent principalities. The situation was the same toward the south, in the Munyambiriri and the Kinyaga, where several petty kings ruled side by side as in Biguzi, Bukunzi, and Busozo. Toward the southwest the Burwe, also known as Mukindo or Ndala, may have been autonomous. The province of Bwana-Mkali was itself divided among several petty kings. There was practically no cohesion among those various groups, although they were for the most part of common origin.

The north is, indeed, populated by tribes who came from Mpororo and the Ndorwa. They are the Bahunde (1), who settled in

1. The "Bahunde" came from the northwest of Lake Kivu, from the various areas designated by the respective names of Kamuronsi, Gishari, Shari, Buyungu, Butembo, and Bwito.

the northwest, particularly in the Bugoyi. In the Kinyaga, toward the south, one finds a mixture of Bashi, or Banyabungu, who crossed the Ruzizi River, and Barundi, who have mixed with them. The inhabitants of the Burwe and Bwana-Mkali are also Barundi.

In the central province of Nduga there lived a group of individuals known by the name of Ababanda, who were divided into small groups and governed by several petty kings. The small lands of the Muhanga and especially that of the Marangara had a certain renown in local history. This will be discussed in the "History of a Reign" /Book III, not translated/. At that time, the most powerful of those petty kings was unquestionably the famous Mashira, who also possessed the Ndiza to the north in addition to most of the Nduga.

Legend claims that it was in his capacity as sorcerer that he was earnestly requested by Kigeri I, the Hamitic king who is believed to have lived at Mwurire near Kigali, to come to his aid. The

173 Banyoro had invaded Kigeri's lands. Ntete, Ntende, Runda, Gasetsa, Urwara, Migongo, Ngungu, Munyaga, etc., all the villages situated to the northeast of his kingdom, had been overrun /81/ and pillaged by those new invaders who had just entered the Bwana-Chambge. In desperation and as a last resource, Kigeri called on Mashira to repel the Banyoro.

The native historians naïvely relate that the charms and spells of the sorcerer-king made Kigeri's troops victorious. One may read between the lines that the material aid which Mashira supplied to Kigeri in the form of his own warriors must have contributed a great deal to the final Batutsi victory (1).

1. The invasion of the Banyoro, the ravages they caused, and their defeat are the subject of a long narrative which, owing to its importance, will be discussed in Book V /not translated/.

Forgetful of the services rendered by the sorcerer-king, Mibambge-Mutabazi, who succeeded his father Kigeri, managed several years later to occupy the Nduga and to get rid of Mashira himself.

Under Mibambge-Mutabazi, the Batutsi invaded this province which is located in the heart of Ruanda. After Mashira's death, Mibambge settled at Ruchango near Butare, not far from Nyanza. It was also during his reign that the Bugessera was added to the Hamitic kingdom of Ruanda. Nsoro, the petty king of that land, also belonged to the Hamitic family.

According to tradition, the Bugessera was part of Urundi, where the Batutsi had already settled. One of them took over the government of the land and ruled over his fellow chiefs, who had distributed the hills (imisozi) among themselves. The chiefs from the Bugessera gradually broke the bonds which tied them to Urundi and proclaimed themselves independent. This resulted in long-drawn-out quarrels which weakened the small country and finally drew the attention of

● 173 Mibambge, who played the part of the "third thief." There were thus, at first, several adjacent Hamitic kingdoms established at variable /82/ intervals of time. We may already recognize Ruanda, Urundi, and the Bugessera whose existence was ephemeral. The Ndorwa and Gissaka also had their autonomous Hamitic kings. The small kingdom Gissaka managed to retain its independence until about 1850. The Ndorwa, although continually attacked by the kings of Ruanda, was never completely subjugated.

The sovereigns of the Ndorwa belonged to the Hamitic clan called "Abashambo," which was closely related to the Banyiginya group that supplied the kings of Ruanda. It seems, therefore, that at the time of their arrival in Ruanda, the Batutsi formed a compact group in order later to disperse at a given moment and to head off into various regions where they took the place of the autochthonous princes. We have seen that according to legend the sons of Gihanga gave rise to the various tribes, Banyarwanda, Banyagissaka, Bagessera /Gesera/, Barundi, Basui, etc. Whether one accepts the existence of Gihanga or deliberately doubts it as a myth, it is not farfetched to use it as an explanation of the preceding fact, that is to say, that the Batutsi emigrants, together at first on the northeastern frontier of Ruanda (Ndorwa, Mutara) and united under one of their own men, later headed off in various directions and partitioned that part of Afrika among themselves.

Considering how few they were in relation to the rest of the aboriginal population, one may ask how they managed to take over the government of the lands we have just mentioned, including Uha, which borders Urundi to the south. No doubt there were local instances of resistance, since tradition has it that some Hamitic kings such as Chyilima I Rugwe and Ndahiro-Chyamatara lost their lives in the course of expeditions. Their forward march, however, was never checked in a definitive way. Their initial unity, their good practical sense, their intelligence, which was superior to that of the autochthonous Bahutu, and their /83/ skillful strategy were no small contributions to their military success.

Instead of tackling several petty kings at once, they outwitted them separately and challenged them in turn.

• 173 It is also possible that their physical height, the color of their skin, and their more civilized manners impressed the "Primitives" they had come to subjugate. They reached an understanding and allied themselves with those aboriginal princes who could be of some use to them, and sometimes got rid of them when the danger was past and they felt that they now were stronger. Kigeri I and his son Mibambge I acted thus toward Mashira. Ruganzu II utilized in like fashion the aid and assistance of the petty king of Marangara, the famous Nkoma.

Let us finally add that their relative moderation after a victory and their talent for government strengthened their rule over Ruanda and caused their new subjects to accept them.

There are numerous problems which are still difficult to solve completely. One of them is the question of the time when the Batutsi entered Ruanda. It is not possible to draw full historical conclusions from the famous "Barenge episode" either. If the legend which preserved it is not altogether false, the event may be set at the beginning of Mibambge I's reign, before the defeat and death of Mashira, which resulted in the conquest of the central province of Nduga by the Batutsi. The Barenge, or people from Rulenge, inhabited the Bwana-Mkali and formed a separate tribe distinct from the Ababanda, their Nduga neighbors. Tradition claims that the Barenge, in order to bring to an end the famine and drought that were devastating the land attempted on the advice of a sorcerer to pile up on one another and mount to the sky to fetch the rain there. /84/ The live pyramid, however, collapsed before the goal was reached, and the Barenge died from the fall, crushed or suffocated. This tragedy occurred at Mara, near the present Savé mission.

The chief, who was called by the name of Kimari, a son of Rulenge's, escaped the disaster along with several members of his family but soon met with an unhappy end. The narrative, which is quite confused, adds that Mibambge apparently had something to do with the catastrophic event symbolized by the collapse of a human pyramid, and that Mashira inherited the succession from Kimari, at least for a while. What did actually happen, and how did events develop? The legend, such as it was passed down to us, is mysterious.

● 173 One does not know how to interpret it. Was it Mibamgbe who instigated the annihilation of the Barenge or, if one holds to the narrative only, did he merely profit from Mashira's success, if the latter actually attacked and conquered the Barenge?

So many questions which are not easily solved, since anachronisms and contradictions abound. The clearest fact is that the Barenge were attacked and fell prey to disastrous events. It does not seem sensible to lay on the Batutsi all responsibility for the struggle to the death that befell the inhabitants of Mara. The Batutsi, indeed, after vanquishing the aboriginal princes, had thoughts only for the government and administration of the subjugated populations, from which they drew their subsistence as true feudal lords. Granting that there were excesses on their part and that their victims were numerous, one may rest assured that given their mentality and customs, they would not wage an actual war of extermination on the tribes they had come to subjugate. They needed them for their own subsistence.

Should one regard the Barenge, on the other hand, as the first autochthonous inhabitants of the area upon whom their Nduga neighbors, /85/ the Ababanda, waged a merciless war as primitive peoples are wont to do, since the rule of might is axiomatic to them?

[173] The pottery remnants ascribed rightly or wrongly to the Barenge would also tend to lend them a distinct origin (1). The name

1. The so-called "Barenge episode" is described separately in Book V /not translated/, owing to its importance.

"Barenge" is no longer borne by any present-day tribe. The natives believe that they all disappeared in the disaster.

Yuhi I, the Hamitic successor to Mibambge I, hardly left any traces in history. He was the twenty-fourth in the dynasty.

His reign is mentioned /by the chroniclers/ only to bring up a fact which is rather insignificant from our point of view. Rushara, one of his favorite sons, became a "rain maker" in spite of himself, as the result of a mishap, and gave rise to the clan called Bashara whose members still have today the reputation for "making rain and good weather."

• 173 Under Ndahiro-Chyamatara, twenty-fifth in the royal lineage, the Batutsi star suffered a pronounced eclipse. The reign of this prince ended in disaster. His death is the subject of a long narrative which is recounted in the "History of Ruganzu's Reign" /Book III, not translated/. According to that episode, he sought death of his own accord in the Bugoyi forest. According to another version which seems more likely, he died at Russokovu in the Bugamba where he is said to have fallen, weapons in hand, in the course of an ill-starred expedition against the inhabitants of the area whom he apparently wished to subjugate. The region was known thereafter as the "hammer-cursed land" (i Rubi rw'inyundo), meaning that the weapons wrought with hammers produced unfortunate results in that area since they caused the death of the king and the elite of his men. It is believed that [796] [769] the annual June mourning observed at the capital (igichurassi) is held in memory and commemoration of this tragic occurrence.

This defeat had baneful consequences for the /86/ Hamitic kingdom, which until then had made continual headway in the interior of the land. Legend and tradition have drawn the picture on the dark side by stressing the tragic events.

A certain Nsibura, chief of the Banyabyinshi, who lived to the southwest of Ruanda, overran the land as a conqueror, subjugating everyone, on his path. The kingdom's misfortunes had no end, say the bards, until the day when the son and successor of the hapless prince, Ruganzu II Ndori, claimed his ancestral throne by force of arms.

Following the disaster which took the life of his father, the young prince had fled to the court of the King of Karagwe, where he was raised by his paternal aunt, the Queen. Upon his return to Ruanda, circumstances were kind to him.

His chief opponent, Nsibura, had just died in the Bugessera forest of an accident dramatized by legend. His energetic and determined character helped him a great deal in his undertakings. Ruganzu greatly expanded the boundaries of the kingdom left to him by his ancestors. No one did more than he for the unity of the monarchy.

The last autochthonous petty kings who had weathered the Hamitic invasion were subjugated by him. The Bugara beyond the

173 Mulera lakes, the Munyambiriri, Kinyaga, Bwana-Mkali, Burwe, etc., henceforth became an integral part of the Crown territories. Like his predecessors, /Ruganzu/marched on the Ndorwa where he killed a relative of the king, a certain Kanyoni, and then on the Bunyabungu to the southwest of Lake Kivu, but those were short-lived conquests.

His successors were no more successful in this regard. The inhabitants of the two afore-mentioned regions never allowed themselves to be assimilated permanently by the Banyarwanda. Ruganzu had no fixed residence; he /87/ spent his entire life waging war, hence his name of "Conqueror" or "Eminently Victorious" (Kuganza).

Only two small principalities are /at this point/ discerned in the present territory of Ruanda, the "Busozo," a sort of vassal land, and "Marangara," which Ruganzu permitted to survive. The potentate showed a certain respect for their independence in view of the benefits he might derive from them. The petty king of the latter region, who was then Nkoma, had the reputation of being a powerful magician. It is still said today that "Nkoma of Marangara, the son of Nkondogoro, 539 knew how to bewitch a great deal better than it is done today." (Nkoma ya Nkondogoro ikiloti cho mu Marangara kitaloger' ubussa nk'aba none.)

Ruganzu did not dare undermine his prestige but chose to make him an ally instead. The Hamitic kingdom of Gissaka was not disturbed either. As we have already said, no one knows the exact date when it was founded. It may have originated at the same time as Ruanda.

Only 11 of its kings are known. The first one, Kimenyi I, was a contemporary of Ruganzu II. Relations between the two courts must have been good at certain times since we find that a king of Ruanda, Kigeri II Ndabarasa, married a Gissaka princess, the sister of Kimenyi II Cetula. This harmony came to an end, however, on the day when the Gissaka kings seized the Buganza and Bwana-Chambge, which, incidentally, they did not retain very long.

The son and successor of Ruganzu, Mutara I Nsoro, enlarged the kingdom to the southeast by driving the Barundi, who occupied part of the Bwana-Mkali province, beyond the Akanyaru River. Tradition adds that the decisive contest was fought near the Save

173 Mission. The King of Urundi lost his life there, and the victors seized his ceremonial garment (inkindi), which is still preserved as a trophy in the royal treasure (intore).

This historical piece survived the Ruchunchu disaster /88/, when fire consumed the many pieces and objects belonging to the royal wardrobe. The afore-mentioned vestment is none other than a colobus pelt (inkomo), such as the Batutsi chiefs and kings used to wear.

[522] This garment was rather small, and as a result it is called derisively in the story "the overly short garment" that did not match the size of its owner (1). Laughter and jokes come readily to the

1. The literal meaning is more vivid and "spicy." Ntizihish' amabuno!

Blacks.

As far as we know, no outstanding event took place under the three following monarchs.

Under the thirty-first, Chyilima II Ludjugira, on the other hand, the struggle with the Barundi was renewed. This war is the subject of a long narrative embellished and distorted by legend. According to it, the Banyarwanda declared war on the Barundi as the result of a drought and in order to bring it to an end. Under the same reign, an alien tribe invaded the Bugoyi, on the east shore of Lake Kivu, and was repelled with great difficulty. The historical character of this second episode is better preserved. "It concerns a people," so the elders narrate, "of light complexion, who spoke a language different from ours and who built their houses differently."

They had the peculiar habit of covering their dwellings with earth. Their tools, axes, and hoes, were better wrought and more durable than those of the autochthonous inhabitants. They were designated as "Those who cover their roofs with earth" (Abassakazataka) or the "Mutes" (Ibiragi) because of their incomprehensible language. The newcomers had settled in the Bugoyi province, which is separated from the Nduga by the forest, and they were soon quarreling with the

173 few native dwellers who had settled in a small part of that volcanic region. It was in vain that the latter banded together to repel the stangers. The "Mutes" remained victorious and /89/ repelled their assailants. Then Chyilima's help was requested, and he sent an army to their aid. The intruders were hewed to pieces, and the survivors fled to the north and never returned.

Who were those strangers, and where did they come from? Tradition is silent on both counts. One must resort to hypotheses in order to identify them. History says that they were "white" (1), that

1. The Bagoyi surely exaggerated on this score. Cf. Book V /not translated/.

they built with earth, and that their tools were better.

We are inclined to believe that they were a Congo tribe who had come from the northwest of Lake Kivu at a time when the fearsome Warega /Rega/ cannibals were putting the adjacent lands to fire and sword.

It was probably for the same reason that the ancestors of the Bagoyi left their homeland (Gishari, Buyungu, etc.) and settled to the northeast of the lake where they founded a clan /? fait souche/.

It is also said that the last king of the Ndorwa was vanquished by Chyilima's troops. This is not absolutely certain, since the same victory is ascribed to one of his predecessors and to two or three of his successors. It may nevertheless be said that until about 1890 the ill-starved populations of the Mpororo, and especially those of the Ndorwa, never knew any peace. Nearly all the kings of Ruanda sent expeditions there although they did not do so in person.

As we have already mentioned, the inhabitants of the area were never thoroughly subjugated. Once the troops had departed, the survivors would leave their hiding places and live again from day to day until the next attack. This is why the land always remained poor and almost without herds.

Little is known about the three sovereigns who succeeded Chyilima. /90/

•173 The last one, Yuhi III Gahindiro, is mentioned only in connection with the fact that he raised a Mutwa /Batwa/ to noble rank and gave him his own daughter (Mulangamirwa) in marriage. The descendants of this couple make up the Basiete clan.

Where did those monarchs live? Which were their capitals? The ancient royal residences (ibigabiro, ibisozi, imirwa), which are easily recognizable by the clumps of trees that mark the sites, are found most everywhere through the various provinces of Ruanda. They are found especially in the vicinity of Kigali, in the Nduga, after one crosses the Nyabarongo River, along the road to Nyanza and beyond, up to the Bwana-Mkali. Judging by the number of their dwellings, it seems that the Hamitic princes had made this central part of Ruanda their most select location, their favorite abode.

Matrimonial relations between conquerors and conquered were so frequent in the Nduga that the Bahutu of that province are strongly tinted with Hamitic blood. In order to explain the profusion of ancient residences, it must be added that certain monarchs such as Ruganzu II and Lwabugiri moved about readily and had many residences while their predecessors maintained only three or four (1).

103

1. Royal residences around Kigali:
Ntora, Kabuye, Rutare, Mwulire, etc.
In the Nduga:
Gibara (Lwogera and Lwabugiri), Runda (Musinga), Ishèru (Lwogera), Idjuru (Yuhi-Mazimpaka), Rukoma (Mibambge), Kanshyiri (Lwogera), Rugobagoba (Lwogera), Kamonyi (Lwabugiri and Musinga), Buhoro and Kivumu (Gahindiro), Mata, Lwamabare, Nyundo, etc.
In the Bwana-Mkalé:
Buhimba (Lwogera and Lwabugiri), Gikirambga (Mutara), Gisseke (Lwabugiri, Musinga), Ishyanda (Lwogera, Lwabugiri), Mwurire, Kisanze, Lussagara, etc.

173 Mutara II Lwogera, grandfather of the present king, brings us to the vicinity of 1845. The most /91/ important event of his reign was the final conquest of the Hamitic kingdom of Gissaka, which had been split by internal divisions. One of the great chiefs of this land, having been dispossessed of his property, appealed to the king of Ruanda, who took advantage of this opportunity to send his troops there.

This event took place between 1850 and 1860. Mutara died shortly after this handsome accomplishment. It is believed that he died of consumption. He first lived at Batsinda near Rugobagoba, then at Kivumu not far from Kabgaye. The central province of Nduga always remained the most important one. The Hamitic kings spent the greater part of their reign there.

It was at the time of Mibambge I Mutabazi, twenty-third in the dynasty and victor over the sorcerer-king Mashira, that the Batutsi began to make the Nduga their favorite land. This is why the "sacred groves" (ibigabiro) that mark the location of the ancient royal residences (imirwa) stand there in a nearly unbroken line.

Kigeri IV Lwabugiri, who died as recently as 1895, was the prince whose mode of life most resembled that of his ancestor Ruganzu II Ndori.

Like him, he spent all his life making war. The regions situated to the northeast of Ruanda, the Bukonya, Mulera, Buhoma, Bushiru, etc., although nominally subjugated from the time of Ruganzu II, had never proved quite submissive toward the Batutsi and had retained an irreverent and unruly attitude toward their conquerors. Lwabugiri paid them frequent visits.

Those mountain peoples, who were impressed by his fame as a warrior, did not offer any resistance. He marched with his troops through the Nkole, Ndorwa, Urundi, and Bunyabungu, which he would have liked to join, at least in part, to Ruanda.

Those were profitless expeditions /92/ that caused great losses in terms of men and brought no real benefits to the Crown, in spite of the booty acquired. His /Lwabugiri's/ only lasting conquest was that of the isle of Idjwi. The epidemic which felled the prince caught him at Kiranga, at the time when he was headed for the Bunyabungu to the southwest of Lake Kivu for the fourth time at least.

●173 His reign, being recent, is well known, and the tale of his expeditions is still to be heard from the lips of those of his contemporaries who survived him. His popularity is almost equal to that of his grandfather Ruganzu II, whose deeds and actions, badly distorted by legend as they are, have been preserved and are still the subject of many a fireside conversation. Lwabugiri's shifts of mood were most interesting.
[747] His revenges, like his bloodthirsty whims, were short lived. He would raise the children of his victims and adopt young captives for whom he took a fancy, shower them with wealth, and admit them into his family.

His immediate successor, Mibambge IV Rutalindwa, barely remained on the throne for a year. He was overthrown by Kabale, the most powerful chief of the Hamitic Bega clan.

So as not to fall alive into the hands of his enemies, the vanquished king took his own life. Mussinga, one of Lwabugiri's youngest sons, was immediately enthroned under the name of Yuhi IV.

Through his mother Kanjogera, he was a nephew of the ambitious Kabale, who was regent before the young prince came of age. The Banyiginya clan, from which the royal family is issued and which had until then wielded a preponderant influence at court, was stripped of its property. The most outstanding chiefs of the vanquished party were relentlessly killed by the Bega people, who divided the government of the provinces among themselves over the corpses of their victims. The Bega men, embittered because they had been kept away from public affairs, were avenging once and for all the inferior position in which they felt /93/ they had been held for such a long time by their rivals.

One may ask whether Kabale when he gave his nephew the royal name of Yuhi did not do so intentionally.

643 173 551 Two categories of kings are distinguished: warrior kings and peaceful kings (from the verb guteka, "to sit." (1))

1. The same verb guteka also means "to cook" (kupika in Kiswahili).

The name which is given to them on the day of their enthronement binds and commits them throughout their reign to a certain course of

643 action. "Ruganzu" is a war name, and so is "Kigeri." Ruganzu II
173 Ndori, as recounted by one tradition, had suffered so much (yari
551 yarushye chyane) that in order to spare his successors as much as possible of the anxieties, sorrows, and fatigue he had endured, he demanded that his name of "Ruganzu" should vanish forever with him into the grave. He thought that he would reduce thereby the number of future wars. The titles of "mutara" and "Yuhi" commit to peace those to whom they are given, who are not permitted to cross rivers (ntibambuk' uruzi). To break this "taboo" would make them and their realm subject to great misfortunes.

701 Thus, it was not Mutara himself who conquered the Gissaka. In case of a necessary war or expedition, the sovereign appoints two generals, one of whom (umugabe) has command of military operations while the other holds a mere honorary rank. He is said to exercise an occult and magic influence over the opponents, who cannot fail to be conquered if he fulfills his role properly. In the course of his expeditions, Lwabugiri always had at his side one of those generals with superstitious functions. They are called Abagaba.

Book IV

(First Fascicle)

The Royal Court

(Its Posts, Privileges, Mores, and Customs)

644 /348/ The object of the present study is the organization of the royal court, its posts and offices, its customs and festivals (1).

1. In order to designate the court and capital as they are here and now, the Banyarwanda use the word

644 monarch under his roof and had given him the information which permitted the Mututsi /Batutsi/ king to vanquish his rival.

3. In memory of King Gihanga, who offered the gift of fire to his son and successor, Kanyarwanda, a group of individuals chosen [778 362] from the Abiru clan must watch /359/ day and night over the fire which is kept burning in the hut dedicated to that great king. The fire is preserved in a huge jar. In the old days the keepers risked their lives if they allowed the fire to go out.

4. The king of the "initiates" (umwami w'imwanda).

[774 ● 173] This post still has a holder today. His name is Kabano, and he succeeded Sherangabo, who had been designated at first to fill this role.

The Hamitic prince was compelled to resign. He was blamed, among other things, for having brought the Europeans into the land, because Count von Götzen had met him at Lwamagona in the Buganza when he entered Ruanda and had taken him along as his guide. This was a mere pretext, however, for the real grievance stemmed from his royal origins. Like Musinga, a son of Lwabugiri, he was both older and better entitled to the throne by far.

The substitute who was placed at the head of the "initiates" is a Mututsi commoner. The title he bears retains its high sound, but the position has lost its importance.

Since the Hamitic monarch, according to custom, could not belong to this secret society, he himself named its chief, who represented to some extent the person of the king and fulfilled in his place the rites in honor of Ryangombe.

The king of the "initiates" formerly had certain privileges, and the members of the society could request his aid and protection in litigations. The position has become strictly honorific.

This religious society is very interesting. Its adepts are re- [769] cruited from the various tribes in the nation and render continual honors to their founding ancestors, Ryangombe, Binego, Mugasa, Kagoro, Muzana, etc., through imitations of their purely physical actions, chants about their exploits, and offerings of libations or sacrifices.

All questions relating to the origins of this society remain mysterious. It is not known under what circumstances /360/ or at what

794 time it came into being, or where and by whom it was first established.
●173 It seems to be of foreign origin, although it has made important
strides in Ruanda proper. It has been noted that the neighboring
[171] peoples to the north, south, east and west of Ruanda indulge in a
similar cult (1). Did Ryangombe and his companions really exist?

1. In the work entitled Entre le Victoria, l'Albert et l'Édouard /Between Lakes Victoria, Albert, and Edward/ the author, Mgr. Gorju, discloses details about this secret society which lead one to believe that it is of Hamitic origin and that it was introduced into Ruanda by the Hamites.

"In the Bunyoro each tribe has its high Muchwezi, or acknowledged protector. Thus ... the Bagweri claim to be under Mugasa's protection....

"Aside from these protectors peculiar to each tribe, however, there are universal protectors common to all tribes who have specialized in some menial function... such as Kagoro, the god of lightning (p. 202). There is a group (of these demigods, or genii) in which individuals were included under the name of bachwezi, such as Nyabatwa and Nyabakonjo, whose legendary history hardly corroborates a kinship with the authentic Bachwezi (three powerful figures whose trail is suddenly

794
• 173

lost)... (p. 203).

"In the Bunyoro the Bachwezi cult was superimposed on the local religion whose primary objects of worship were no other than the spirits of the ancestors and the Creator himself."

(Luhanga, Nyamuhanga, among the Bahima of Uganda), p. 218.

(Sub-army /sub L'armee?/ (society) of the mbandwa).

The same author speaks also of Muzana, the servant girl honored by the initiates.

Fr. Césard, in turn, lists the same figures, including Rungu (Nyabirungu among the Banyarwanda) in his study, "Comment les Bahaya interprètent leurs origines /How the Bahaya Interpret their Origins/," Anthropos, 1927.

Yes, if the legends are to be believed, but the details they provide are not sufficiently accurate to make us accept the reality of their existence. What are the bonds of kinship or subordination which unite Ryangombe and the figures who are grouped at his side in the worship and ceremonies held in his honor?

173 776 794 There does exist a sort of mythology that classifies some of those figures, but others were introduced into some of the provinces at a later time and are more or less unknown. Some of them nevertheless have historical associations, and their claimed patronage arouses certain conjectures. /361/ We wonder whether the Banyarwanda may have introduced into this sort of religious pantheon sorcerers, ancient petty kings, and political figures who played an important role in the land. The Blacks, being superstitious, timorous, eager to avert the wrath of ancestral spirits and anxious to gain their protection, have

173 rendered them a special worship. The Hamites were perhaps the first
776 to organize this religious group in the newly conquered land. The
794 Bahutu (or Bantu) were not excluded from it. Their admission was a political act on the part of the immigrants (1).

> 1. It is not impossible that the Hamites found the imwandwa society already organized when they arrived in Uganda, and later in Ruanda, and that they immediately adopted it and had themselves initiated into it to serve their own ends. As we can see, the problems relating to the origins of this religious society remain unsolved. Any hypothesis may be offered until the day when light will be brought on the subject.

By conviction and perhaps also in a spirit of diplomacy, in order to win their subjects over, the conquering Batutsi, killers of the magician-petty kings, did not hesitate to invoke the spirits of their victims and to honor them in cult ceremonies.

The Romans acted similarly toward foreign divinities, and admitted them willingly into the pantheon of the Empire.

According to this interpretation, should Ryangombe and his initial companions be placed in the category of aboriginal princes? If one accepts the facts set forth in the Banyarwanda legend, such a supposition is not impossible. The mythological narrative represents Ryangombe as a sort of independent prince (umuhinza), whose residence was at Kibingo in the small province of Nyakale. The legend says that Ryangombe went hunting to please his wife Nyanzige, daughter of the great king, Ruganzu II, who had asked him for a buffalo hide in which to wrap (ingobyi) her newborn child. He found one of those /362/ formidable animals and even wounded it, but was charged by the beast and killed at a spot about two hours distant from his dwelling,

173 776 744 Nyabikenke, which became thereby historical and accursed. His sons and companions avenged his death and killed Nyanzige, who was the indirect cause of the misfortune. The initiates of the Ryangombe cult also deified Ruganzu's daughter and made her a liberator (Umutabazi). It may have been the children and followers of Ryangombe who ennobled the end of this unfortunate woman for political reasons, so as to escape the anger and reprisals of the vindictive monarch.

Nyanzige is designated in ritual ceremonies by the name of Nyagishya or Inzobe, that is to say, "pale-faced woman," on account of her complexion.

The Bagoyi attribute Ryangombe's death to another one of his relatives, a young girl whom he had previously seduced after offering her a heady drink of hydromel. "I will have my revenge," cried the adolescent girl. "You will find me along the way, changed into a buffalo, and your blood will pay for my dishonor."

In accordance with local custom, the family of the unlucky girl chased her away. She found refuge in a wooded area where she bore a male child.

Ryangombe had gone out hunting when he suddenly met with the angered mother. She changed herself into a buffalo and pierced the king of the Imwanda with her horns.

The Banyarwanda like to ascribe to Ruganzu II most historical events and the origin of a number of practices and customs. What aspects of the afore-mentioned legend should we keep in mind? The interpretation of the facts is far from easy. The reign of Ruganzu II is relatively recent. On the other hand, the cult of Ryangombe is found in neighboring areas although the details vary. It is difficult to accept all the narrative details as historical. The religious society seems to /363/ date much farther back than the reign of this great monarch (1).

1. Ryangombe himself may have been only the perpetuator of these rites and may have practiced them by virtue of the law of succession, if it is assumed that he was a petty king (umuhinza), or on the authority of the Hamitic potentates.

794 6. "The dog that runs like the wind" (Nyakayaga).
552 7. "The dog with fringes (with long hair)" (Nyagayonga).

Among the prototypes or figures who appear in this legend, 173 Ryangombe is the one most highly honored.

794 He is regarded as a sort of hunter-king who made volcanoes his favoirte dwelling place after his death.

According to the same narrative, he still enjoys the pleasures of the hunt with his sons, companions, and favorites in those high mountainous and wooded regions. The Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa have participated in this cult in large numbers. They observe its /369/ rites faithfully and observe the rules of the arcana. The ceremonies take place mostly at night. Each of the adepts appeals to the spirit or spirits for whom he has a special devotion. The Batutsi have chosen those whose life most closely parallels their own.

643 The chiefs do not like to mix with their subjects to honor those powerful spirits, but they seek out the help of the Bahutu and 794 Batwa who belong tothis cult and have them dance and sing in honor of Ryangombe and his companions. The Bahutu and Batwa alone take part in the ritual processions and collections which are carried out through the villages in summertime.

794 The gestures of this cult are pervaded with earnest and impressive seriousness. Initiation, confirmation, ritual feasts, the taking on and carrying out of vows, the collections and processions, all take place secretly, away from prying eyes. Laymen are not allowed to come near the gatherings, and jests and insults directed at the initiates were seriously punished in the old times. A former queen, Nyiramulema (a wife of King Mutara), was crucified upon the ground in the courtyard of her dwelling by the imandwa for having ridiculed their ceremonies. The tomb of the unfortunate woman lies at Savé, in the Nyarigina quarter.

644 II. Official Posts of Great Importance from the Standpoint of the Crown (Ingoma) as well as from that of the Executive.
Generals and Official Drummers.
Executioners, Capital Punishment, and the "Pit" of the Bugessera.

701 1. The generals or commanders of the armed forces.

791
644

We mention them here separately because of the relatively numerous details cited about each one of them.

It must be said that all those "doctors of occult, mystic, and magic sciences," far from being ashamed of their trade, pride themselves in it and regard themselves as /398/ important and needed beings. They are conscious of their dignity and of the nobility of their functions, which they publicly advertise (1). For some of them professional

[754]

1. This does not concern those who act on their own account and become bewitchers or spell casters on an occasional and temporary basis.

Such people operate in a hidden and roundabout way in order to exercise a purely personal vengeance. They take every possible precaution to conceal their operations, therefore, for they risk death if their deeds are disclosed.

remuneration is quite high. Glory brings profit.

In their pride and vanity the professional practitioners of magic and sorcery of all kinds have tried to give their art a noble origin by tracing it back to the great king Ruganzu II. According to legend, he was the man who invented and organized everything.

[173]

Craftsmen, blacksmiths, and cultivators claim him /as their forebear/.

When pressed to account for their powers and with their backs against the wall, theurgic sorcerers, medicine men, etc., have claimed in turn to be merely trustees of the gifts and talents which the illustrious monarch was the first to hold and possess. He passed on those gifts and talents to their predecessors, whose line they carry on.

After subjugating the petty autochthonous princes who had governed Ruanda, the Hamitic kings used the services of those princes' descendants. Some of these petty kings, such as those of Marangara and the Bgishaza, had the reputation of being the most powerful of

563 The descendants of this couple created the Basiete clan. They still
644 exercise great influence at court, and they possess numerous territories
554 (fees).
565 This event was not unprecedented, for the Hamitic kings, while maintaining the social distinctions with which we are already familiar, frequently made use of this device to reward highly deserving commoners.

This was the rule until quite recently.

Listed among the Bahutu who were admitted into the Batutsi caste and who contracted matrimonial alliances with them are the chief of the "cursers" (abahẽnyi) clan, Agakwande, and the descendants of the great sorcerer Lunukamishyo. The latter form a closed clan known by the name of Abosha, and rank at court as sacrificer-diviners.

554 The keepers of the treasure (abanyabyuma), or abanyori, from
565 Mpanda village have likewise been raised to noble rank, and so has /467/ Bunyereri, the commander of the "Invincible" (Intalindwa) army.

The same was done to a number of foreigners from the Uswi, Bunyabungu, and other adjacent regions.

Innumerable men in the king's service (abanyagikali, abanyanzoga, etc.) were raised by his favor to noble rank and granted
527 the government of some province or village. Prisoners of war who had earned the confidence of their conquerors also rose to the ranks of the Batutsi. Chief Lusera, who was carried off from the Nkole region at a very young age in the course of an expedition, was brought up by King Lwabugiri, who later gave him the village of Gitongati in the Nduga and his own daughter Kalungerwa in marriage.

173 The Badiga clan owes its nobility to a curious event in which
558 the Hamitic kings had no direct part.
563 The ancestor of this tribe, a man named Bidiga, was of the Mutwa /Batwa/ race, and his parents, Sabulegeya and Rwiru, had come originally from the Bufundu province. They had moved to the village of Gahogo in the Nduga. Bidiga, their son, became a potter like his father. During a famine, on a day of torrential rain, a

173 558 563 Mututsi /Batutsi/ woman named Nyirandoba sought shelter in Bidiga's hut without being aware of his social status. The potter gallantly offered some food to the hunger-stricken lady.

Nyirandoba accepted eagerly. Meanwhile the sky had cleared and the woman, her hunger satisfied, took leave of her host after thanking him very kindly.

As she walked away, she heard a voice inviting Bidiga to take advantage of the improvement in the weather and go into the swamp to fetch some clay. Nyirandoba realized her mistake. She was forever dishonored. Everyone /468/ would know that she, a Mututsi woman, had entered the hut of a Mutwa and had taken food from the hand of a pariah.

Henceforth, no one in her own caste would be willing to associate with her.

Bidiga, who understood her uneasiness and misgivings, came to her aid and offered to marry her. The noble lady, very happy with the solution, became Bidiga's wife.

Not far from them there lived a Batutsi clan named Babambanganzi, who were in charge of one of the court herds known by the name of "black cows" (inka z'imikara, inkuke z'ibgami). Those people, who had no reasons to complain about Bidiga's proximity, made him their cowherd and put him in charge of the royal herd. Bidiga and his family gradually established close contact with the Hamites and contracted marriages with them which placed them in due course among the Batutsi ranks (1).

1. In view of all this, we can understand why the Hamitic type has lost its original purity to a greater or lesser extent in some of the clans belonging to this ethnic group. We may also add that the poorer Batutsi often take Bahutu wives.

644
768

home, on the advice of his familiars, in a hut that stood nearby. The sorcerers assured him that he had nothing more to fear on the part of the spirits, who had been given full satisfaction by means of this trick.

643 Upon the accession of each new king to the throne, a special envoy went to the Ruzizi Valley and drew water from a spring called Zina. He took some of that water and brought it for the young monarch to drink.

The reasons for this custom, which has now fallen into disuse, have been forgotten.

Chapter 6

I. The Two Great Festivals at Court

644
796 The two most important celebrations (ibirori) take place at the official presentation of the "First Fruits," and on the day following the annual mourning period, which the king and his court must observe.

This latter feast, which closes the month of June, is celebrated with the same pomp and richness. Since it will be described in the chapter dealing with honors rendered to the spirits of the royal dead, we shall discuss here only the festival called "First-Fruits" festival.

173
[824] In their enthusiasm and admiration for Ruganzu II, the Victorious, the Banyarwanda go so far as to credit him with almost every food plant or grain they possess. Special mention is made of sorghum, eleusine, and a kind of wild plant /499/ known by the name of issogi (1), owing to their importance in the local economy.

• 173
[824
252]

1. The Banyarwanda prepare the stem and leaves of issogi as though it were spinach.

Their introduction into Ruanda by the great monarch is the subject of numerous tales that are more or less contradictory.

We shall cite only the best-known ones.

"A chief in the Bumbogo country," according to one tradition, "had abducted and married Ruganzu's sister to his great dissatisfaction, and he had sworn to wreak a signal vengeance upon him. In order to appease the wrath of his royal brother-in-law, the abductor thought it best to send him envoys with gifts. Among the latter were several baskets of sorghum and eleusine, which were then unknown in Ruanda.

"The king recognized their importance and forgave the offender forthwith, but laid upon him the obligation of bringing one basketful of each plant to the capital every year. The king distributed the first consignments among the chiefs and advised them to plant them and watch over their growth."

According to another version, Ruganzu was passing through the Bumbogo when he saw an ant (imonyo) dragging a handsome grain along the path. He pointed this out to one of his followers. "Look at this ant," he said. "Let's see what it is holding in its mouth." The Banyarwanda had never seen a grain like that one.

The king ordered it to be preserved with care.

Upon his return to the capital he had it planted in the ground. Six months later a handsome ear was harvested, and its grains were sowed anew. Two years later the harvest was such that the precious grain could be distributed to a number of persons. The cultivation of this cereal, which /500/ was given the name of sorghum, soon spread throughout Ruanda.

On another occasion when Ruganzu was traveling across the same land of Bumbogo, he suddenly stopped before a hut from which there emanated a delicious cooking odor. "What could be the food that gives forth such a delicious aroma?" he exclaimed. The woman of the household invited the prince to come in, uncovered the pot, and showed him the famous issogi plant (spinach) that she was cooking

●173 with beans. Ruganzu was pleased with the discovery and congratulated the cook. He was shown a few of the plants, and he had some of their seeds gathered.

Others add that the woman in question presented him on the same occasion with the first sorghum bread he had ever seen, hence the thought of introducing the cultivation of that grain plant into his kingdom.

796 Whatever the authenticity of these details may be, the truth is that the "first fruits" festival (umuganura, kuganuz' umwami) is celebrated every year at the capital to commemorate the introduction of sorghum, eleusine, and the spinach-like plant into Ruanda. It was usually celebrated in February or March for eleusine, and in May for sorghum; to each occasion the famous plant was added. Over the last few years, eleusine, sorghum, and spinach have been brought at one time to the capital for a single ceremony. In the Bumbogo a special family is in charge of cultivating the field where the grain destined for the court is harvested.

This function is transmitted from father to son. At sowing time the appointed keeper of the field goes and asks the king for the hoe that will be used to break the ground.

When this envoy appeared at court, the king was supposed to have him struck three times, according to custom.

The reason for this curious practice is unknown.

The man left with his hoe during the night. Once the harvest /501/ was concluded, the same people /sic/ returned to the capital to fetch the special basket (igitenda ch' imikondo) in which the sorghum or eleusine was carried. The basket was placed on a litter [661] (ingobyi). Those who walked in the procession enjoyed the privilege of robbing and looting the people they found along the way.

796 The story tells that they did not hesitate to make use of this 661 privilege in the old days, but that for some time things had improved, and with good reason. The chiefs whose territory they crossed at night were compelled to treat them well because they were the king's men. Needless to add, they were always ready to indulge in revelry when the opportunity arose. Once arrived at the capital they were allowed by custom, it seems, to handle the Batutsi roughly and to

778 and common terms ikibira, "cemetery," imva or "igituro, "grave," 766 to be used in this connection. In certain parts of Ruanda, owing to 644 the respect with which the king is regarded and to the reverential fear he inspires, the Blacks use another expression which is much more accurate. One frequently hears them speak of musezero (misezero in the plural), that is to say, the place where the monarch permanently "took leave" of his subjects, from the verb gusezera, which means "to take leave."

The word umusezero is now commonly used to mean "restricted place," "guarded place," because in summer when people set fire to the tall grass, they first clear the bush from the edges of the cemeteries to protect the royal graves from fire. /525/

2. Main Royal Cemeteries

766 It is at Gasseke in the Nduga, about four hours from the Kabgayi mission in the northeast, that one of the first "sepulchral" groves is found where a prince by the name of Chyilima was buried.

• 173 Two monarchs by this name are known. It was during the 643 reign of the more recent of the two that the famous migration into 766 Ruanda of the "Mutes," or "Foreign men with an incomprehensible 778 language," took place. According to tradition, the one with whom we are dealing here was the brother and immediate successor of Ruganzu I, surnamed Bwimba (1), who lived long before his illustrious

1. The natives relate that the mother of this Ruganzu late in life married one of her courtiers named Chenge, and Chyilima-Rugwe was born of this union. She did this to the great dissatisfaction of her eldest son, Ruganzu I, for it ran contrary to the custom which requires the queen mother to live solely with the reigning prince.

[644]

• 173
643
766
778

The same legend adds that Ruganzu-Bwimba, considering himself dishonored, took advantage of a war in Urundi to throw himself into the midst of his enemies, and there met his death.

namesake.

To distinguish him from the other Chyilima, posterity gave the one buried at Gasseke the surname of Rugwe, which means "leopard," [775] because the leopard into whose body he is said to have transmigrated after his death is still believed to inhabit the dense thicket which has grown around his tomb. This is why sacrifices are offered there almost constantly, and the appointed keeper of the place often beats a drum there. Some say that King Chyilima ruled only for a few months, others that he reigned but a few days. Hence the incessant honors meant to ingratiate his spirit... and his voracious alter ego.

Some add that people behave in this manner toward him owing to his unfortunate death, in order to appease his anger and grief (agahinda gashire).

He was driven back from the west where he had been waging war, and his enemies pursued him all the way to Gasseke. /526/

Mortally wounded by one of their spears, he managed to hide in the bushes where he soon died of his wounds, forsaken by his own people. Several months went by without anyone hearing about him.

One fine day some herdsmen discovered his body (umurangara), which was completely dried up. They announced the news at the capital and claimed a reward.

They were encouraged to express their wishes and obtained the [233] privilege of letting their herds graze with impunity on other people's crops in the summertime, when grass is lacking. Whatever the origin of this strange favor may be, it is a fact that until the European penetration the Batutsi and their cowherds did not hesitate to use it and abuse it, at the expense of the unfortunate Bahutu who could do nothing about it...

173 643 766 778 As for the royal cemetery of Luhanga, which lies atop the plateau of the same name, the inhabitants of the area all concur in the belief that if King Gihanga himself was not buried there, that is to say, the eminent "Creator," then at least his wife Nyirakabogo was. It is probable that numerous other monarchs sleep their last sleep there by the queen's side, but the people are not quite sure of their names anymore.

Nor are they sure of the names of those who were buried on the neighboring Kayenzi-Bussigi plateau, where four of those cemeteries are to be found.

The names of the princes buried in the northern most cemetery are better known. The inhabitants of the area are almost unanimous in naming Kigeri-Mibambge and Nyiramavugo as being buried there. During the last European war, which had local repercussions, the natives were rightly frightened and erected huts (indaro) over their tombs where they offered numerous sacrifices. As for Queen Nyiramavugo, the elders recall seeing her corpse go by in their earliest childhood. /527/ The body was laid at the foot of the plateau for the night before being carried to the top where it was buried. This was the mother of Lwogera-Mutara, that is to say, the grand-mother of the present king.

Malembo, daughter of Nyamajinya and mother of Yuhi-Mazimpaka, was buried on one or the other of the two plateaus, it is not known exactly which. One still hears of Yuhi-Mazimpaka himself and of a sister of Ruganzu, Nyirangabo, who, according to the natives, were buried in the afore-mentioned cemeteries. What is certain is that the grove which follows upon the first one starting from the north holds the remains of Kilongoro, daughter of a certain Magoma and mother of Chyilima-Ludjugira, who succeeded Yuhi-Mazimpaka.

According to present-day opinion, the sacred groves of Luhanga and Kayenzi-Bussigi are reserved exclusively for the burial of queen mothers (abanyambuto, "those of the grains"), that is to say, [562] those who provided the heir to the throne and who reigned along with him.

173 643 766 778

The best known of the royal cemeteries is that of Rutare in the mountainous Buyaga area, not far from Lake Mohazi near the frontier of Ruanda.

The existence of this resting place is traced back, rightly or wrongly, to Ruganzu II, who is said to have been the first one to be buried there.

According to one tradition, he had himself chosen the site of his tomb on this high spot, so as to be an insuperable obstacle to the enemies of Ruanda even after his death. This tradition is seriously challenged by the inhabitants of the central province of Nduga (1).

1. Cf. Book III, The Reign of Ruganzu II.

The last two kings who were buried there and who are recalled most readily were Lwogera and Lwabugiri, the immediate predecessors of the present reigning monarch.

It is rather difficult to say for how many monarchs the sepulchral grove of Rutare has served as last resting place. /528/ The trees in the thickets, some of which are quite old, were formerly separate but eventually merged. Here and there, old trunks which marked the site of the courtyards in which the huts were built have disappeared, so that one cannot count the funerery enclosures with any exactitude. There do not seem to be more than eight or ten.

Three other royal cemeteries are found at Musenyi in the Nduga to the south of the Kabgayi mission, about two hours away. The first one stands on the slope of a hill called by the name of Mayebe. It is made up of a small wood of thorny acacia trees which have reached their maximum height and whose long intertwined branches lend a mysterious atmosphere to the grove, where a half light barely penetrates. Some other trees with thicker foliage dominate the grove. Those are the inganzamarombo (1).

[231]

1. They are called thus from kuganza, "to overtop," and marombo, "swarms of bees," because the natives like to set their hives there.

173 643 766 778 A native village stands nearby, its banana groves bordering on the thickets. Its occupants are in charge of watching over the cemetery, which according to the opinion of the Banya-Nduga (inhabitants of the Nduga province) includes the tomb of Ruganzu II Ndori. Those who claim that his body was buried at Rutare cling to their opinion and insist that he was merely "smoked" at Mayebe. The inhabitants of the latter area, on the other hand, claim in turn that after having been mummified he was indeed buried right there, and add that this is the usual procedure. The place is quite commonly known by the name of "Ruganzu's cemetery."

According to the same interpretation, this prince alone was buried there.

Not far from Mayebe, two other small groves made up chiefly of ficus trees stand barely 300 meters apart. /529/ According to some, the corpses of several queens by the name of Nyirakigeri and Nyirayuhi were mummified there. Local people insist that they were also buried there, and support their claim by adding that the place where a king or queen is smoked is also the place where they are buried. The two clumps of trees formerly made up a single sacred grove, and this is why the natives call them by the same name.

The last of those cemeteries stands two kilometers farther. It is made up of handsome ficus trees, but the same controversies arise concerning the use to which this funeral site was put. It is called "the cemetery of the queens who bore the name of Nyiramavugo."

[123] It is not easy to give precise information on this subject. The keepers of the groves, the undertakers (abanyamugogo), and the official chroniclers (Abachur' ubgenge) are not willing to surrender all their information on the subject. The statements of other people are unreliable.

Funerary enclosures called ilaro (amalaro in the plural), or "night stopping places," are also found in the area.

They mark the sites of huts which served as shelters for the mortal remains of kings and queens in transit to the cemeteries.

The dwellings had to be abandoned after their visit, just as happens when a prince travelling through his realm stops for the night.

173 643 766 778 The term gisozi ("big hill") serves, as we have said, to designate the place where a king died.

It is the augmentative of the word musozi, which means "hill" and by extension "village." This term belongs to the /word/ class prefixed by the consonant ki.

This class includes nothing but words conveying the idea of majesty, fear, etc. /530/

There are numerous groves in this category, such as those of Kigali, Musumba, Kaganza, etc.

In order to prove the truth of any pronouncement or assertion, the natives use the following phrase which alludes in metaphorical terms to the death of one or another of their sovereigns, Mb' ali jye wakuye [539] Lwogera i Kaganza!

"Let it be I ('if I do not speak the truth' being implied here) who tore (King) Lwogera away from Kaganza (name of the place where the king died)!"

[644] The reader must have noted that kings and queen mothers alone have been mentioned in the preceding pages. Mere wives were entitled to no special honors after their death. They were buried like common mortals. Queen mothers, that is to say, those who bore the heir to the throne and then reigned with him, were granted the same funerary honors as sovereigns.

173 644 766 778 Aside from the groves we have just described, there is also mention of one at Bugarama-Ntare (i Buhurura) not far from Rukoma. It is believed to be the spot where the undertakers fulfilled their usual functions at the death of a queen named Nyirakigeri. The sacred grove of Butare, which now only includes a few very old trees, is thought to be the place where Nyagihaga, daughter of Ruyenzi and mother of a Chyilima or Mutara died (1).

1. The official chroniclers do provide a genealogical list of the kings of Ruanda, with the name of their mothers and of the clans to which the latter belonged, but this cannot be fully credited. We have

•173
644
766
778

seen that the names of the
first kings were pure fantasy.
The chronological order of
several others is lacking,
and the chroniclers do not agree
on the affiliation of these princes.

Kaganza hill, not far from Musenyi, is thought to have been the scene of the death of Nyiramavugo, mother of Lwogera-Mutara.

When her hair began to turn white she refused to drink /531/ the traditional poison that was to bring her life to a close. King Lwogera-Mutara referred the matter to his maternal uncle, Nyamushanja, who had her strangled. She was mummified at Musenyi and buried on the Kayenzi plateau.

3. Watching of the Cemeteries and the Honors Rendered to the Spirits of the Royal Dead

778
767

a. Watching of the royal cemeteries. Entrance to the cemeteries was strictly forbidden to laymen, who could not even come near them, as if their presence were a defilement or a profanation.

Not so long ago, at Rutare the keepers in charge of watching over the royal tombs still found it convenient to pillage and even kill the travelers who had the misfortune to wander into their neighborhood.

The functions of the keepers of royal cemeteries are almost invariably exercised by members of the Abiru or Abatsobe tribe, with whom they are identified. In summer when the tall grasses, are set afire, they must see to it that the flames do not reach the restricted enclosures.

In principle it is strictly forbidden to cut wood there, and one may never go in with an axe.

[178]

The keepers and the neighbors seem to have eased up a little on this rule over the last few years. Since the dead wood they were permitted to use no longer met their needs, they began to attack the

● 173
778

2. Many of those former royal residences recall historic events which took place at the site or in the vicinity.

It was at Mwurire that Mutara I, a son of Ruganzu II, vanquished the king of Urundi, a Mutaga, whose lands extended that far at the time.

On Ruchunchu hill, not far from a former residence of Lwabugiri's at Rubugurizo (that is to say, according to the etymological sense of the word, "at the spot where the king's sons played backgammon"), the natives point out the spot where Mibambge-Rutalindwa, Lwabugiri's appointed heir, set fire to himself and his people /relations and friends/ in 1896, in some hastily built huts, when he found himself about to be captured by partisans of the powerful Bega family who had rebelled against him. In the Bumbogo, at places called Mbilima and Matovu, some tall fiscus trees mark the site /533/ of a dwelling formerly occupied by an important chief of the Batsobe clan who had married King Lwabugiri's own mother.

[103]

The latter, having grown up, wanted to wreak vengeance for what he regarded not only as a serious infringement of court custom but also as a crime of high treason.

His warriors surrounded the hill one day.

•173
778

Since it was impossible to escape, Chief Seruteganya set fire to himself (aritwika), the queen mother, and his two sons, Mulangire and Sebugigi.

Another tradition adds that Lwabugiri wanted to spare his mother, but that as she attempted to escape she was murdered by one of the sons of her second husband.

769 [609] The king treats other dead members of his family with the same solicitude. He follows the same line of behavior toward people who are complete strangers to him but whose wrath he fears. Musinga has already caused propitiatory victims to be offered several times to Kabale, his maternal uncle, who died in 1912. In order to pacify his spirit more effectively, the sacrifices took place at Mbuye, in one of the favorite former dwellings of the powerful minister. Karara, one of the many blood brothers of the present king, who died at Ruchunchu, was granted the same honors when he showed signs of discontent.

769 766 791 As a result of this belief that the dead may do harm to the living, a group of sorcerers arose to whom the king resorts when an important political prisoner is executed. Those sorcerers are called "exhumers" or "mutilators of cadavers" (ababūzi), a word derived from the verb kwabūra, "to exhume a cadaver," for no sooner is the condemned man dead than they cut off his little right finger (umuhèra) and his little right toe (akajanja). They also take strips of flesh from the body of the victim, who henceforth will be unable to do any harm. The aim of this posthumous mutilation is called urukagiro, meaning "obstacle," "hindrance" (from the verb gukagira, "to hinder").

Sorcerers in this category handle those human strips at some length and finally bury them in an anthill hole (umulerajuru). /534/

769 [775] c. Special honors rendered to dead kings, or hierogamies. The Blacks are convinced that the spirits of the dead retain their hatreds and passions. To humor them, therefore, is to the best advantage of the living. The means used to this end are of course

144 The word "Hamite" is, however, also used in a different sense. We speak of a "Hamitic anthropological type." This designation refers to the anthropological element so characteristic of the tribes who have mixed relatively little and who speak Hamitic languages, the Somal [Somali] and Galla, for example. In this sense [123] one may count the Batutsi among the Hamites. The Hamitic anthropological type is more obvious in them than in the Massai to the east and the Bari and Kakwa in the northwest. They are less "Negroized."

173 131 According to their traditions, the Batutsi come from the north, which, however, refers essentially to the Bugansa district south of Lake Mohasi, not to the distant lands on the other side of the Victoria-Nile, the Bukedi, traditional homeland of the Babito. This might mean that the Batutsi have been in their present country long enough for the other, older traditions to have faded, leaving only those concerning the founding of the Ruanda state.

Karagwe, however, is also mentioned in these traditions. Perhaps this has something to do with the older migration of the Ruanda Batutsi. Presumably this migration took place along an axis extending from the steppes in the northeast, along the Karagwe border, and across Lake Mohasi to Nduga and Mukinjaga. It is along this axis that one finds the strongest concentration of Batutsi.

131 Dr. Kandt states that the original homeland of the Batutsi is the Mhogo Basin (districts of the upper Nyawarongo). Kissaka also has a large percentage of Batutsi. Baumann (1) mentions

[113]

1. Baumann, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle [Through the Land of the Masai to the Source of the Nile] (Berlin, 1894), p. 204.

isolated groups of Batutsi in the mountains in the northwestern part of Tanganyika. Only in the Muwissi Mountains, in the southwestern part of Issawi, are there reputedly very few Batutsi. (2)

2. Travel reports of Prof. Hans Meyer

695 referred to simply as kushoko, "drinking." This fact indicates that the poison test was the oldest form. To give a person this test is called kushora which simply means "to give a drink." Thus they say: "Umututsi ashora inka ze (the Mututsi gives his cows a drink)," as well as "kushora ikihango (to drink poison)" and "kushora (literally, to drink a chicken)."

[286] Chapter 14

History and Chronology

• 173 Ruanda. I had great difficulty in obtaining data about the history of Ruanda. Oral tradition in the interlacustrine region is limited chiefly to the genealogy of the rulers. This basic skeleton is also generally supplemented by a few statements about the chief events of the corresponding epochs. My informants, however, knew little about the history of the dynasty, since most of them were Bahutu.

124 Musinga gave Captain W. Von Grawert, who introduced me to him, his royal promise that he would have reports made to me on the history of the country or even tell me about it himself. [187] The chicken oracle, however, said that the king would suffer harm if I were initiated in the history of the country. The next time I visited Musinga and tried to have certain contradictions in my notes on the Ruanda rulers cleared up by this authoritative source, I was kept dangling for two and a half hours and was unsuccessful. His Black Majesty was very pleasant, but during the whole time he kept practicing, in German, the meaningless sentence, "Little spear is pretty."

Musinga wanted to please me by demonstrating his zeal in learning the German language and in this way divert my attention from interviewing him.

173 It seems that in Ruanda as well as In Nkole one may not speak [715] about deceased kings with the uninitiated, for the spirits, disturbed in their rest, might avenge themselves. However, people [52] talk about olden times in the evening when the nobility gather with the king, pay court to him, and drink beer. They know

173 their history, but they regard it as a hallowed secret of the Batutsi which belongs to the category of ibanga [secrets].

173 Father F. Dufays and Father P. Loupias succeeded in learning
114 about one of the traditions of ancient times from a Mututsi whom I personally know very well but whose name I must withhold out of consideration for his own safety. The man clashed with his fellow tribesmen [287] and told his story to the missionaries to express his gratitude for their protection.

173 According to this story, human beings in former times lived
773 in heaven as well as on the earth. The children of Nyina Kigwa, Kigwa, Lututsi, and their sister, Nyina Batutsi, were cast out from heaven as a punishment for their mother's loquacity. They fell to earth in Bugansa, Ruanda, and discovered the following Bahutu families in the country: the Basinga, Bagessera, and Bazigaba. In the forest they found the Batwa. The Bahutu and Batwa had been expelled from heaven before them. The new immigrants brought fire, agriculture (hoe culture), cattle raising, and industry (iron technique). In this way they gained influence, and Kigwa became the ruler of Ruanda. Kigwa married his sister, Nyina Batutsi, and became the protoplast of the Banieginia who are descended from his three sons and still rule Ruanda. Lututsi emigrated to Karagwe and married one of Kigwa's three daughters. He became the protoplast of the Bega who supply the kings of Ruanda with wives and mothers who are their peers. Kigwa and his descendants kept in touch with heaven through Batabazi redeemers, who came to their aid in times of great need. There are three chief Batabazi mentioned. The first protected the children of Nyina Batutsi and brought animals to Ruanda; the second was Kihana, son of King Ndahiro; and the third, Kyamweru, was the son of King Luzugira Iwijuru.

[177] This tradition contains some details of Christian legends, which we shall not go into here. Its origin will probably be determined some day, but at present it is a mystery. However, the statement that the children of Nyina Kigwa (referring doubtless to the Batutsi) brought fire and hoe culture into the country can be written off as historically incorrect. In any case, it is certain that this story tells us about the settling of the Batutsi in Ruanda and the establishment of their rule in Bugansa, and that at this time Bagessera,

173 Basinga, and Bazigaba were already settled in the land and
173 Batwa were roaming the forests. In other words, conditions then were much the same as they are now in Mulera.

Dr. Kandt's report (1) about the ancient history of the country

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 302.

is somewhat different. "When the first human being lived in Ruanda with his five sons, Kitussi, Kitwa, Kinjabungu, etc., Kitwa killed one of his brothers out of jealousy. At first the father wanted to kill him for this, but hesitated because he was his own flesh and blood. So he sent him into the wilderness with the curse that all his descendants were to dwell among the descendants of the other sons as pariahs."

Here, in contrast to the tradition mentioned earlier, we find no references to the fact that the Batutsi immigrated at a later time. [288] Moreover, the representatives of all the tribes are referred to as descendants of the same ancestors. This is probably the best proof that the account has little historical significance.

173 Let us now turn to more accurate accounts about the Ruanda state. In my inquiries into the history of the state I succeeded in getting data that may be summarized in the following list of rulers. However, we must admit that the individual sources were sometimes very contradictory. For this reason further investigation is needed before a definite genealogy can be given. There is always the possibility that some of the succession of rulers listed here may be brothers, but usually collateral descendants of former times are forgotten.

The rulers of Ruanda are:

1. Kigwa.
2. Nyeranda.
3. Kadji.
4. Muntu.
5. Kihanga.
6. Ndoba.
7. Ndore I.
8. Ndahiro I or Dabarasa.
9. Ruganzu or Luzugira. (Kihana).

173

10. Lumazimpaka. (Kyamweru).
11. Mibambwe I.
12. Juhi I.
13. Lugazu, son of Nyina Bachuzi.
14. Mibambwe II.
15. Chilima I.
16. Ruganzurwa, son of Nyina Bunyana.
17. Kigeri I.
18. Mibambwe III.
19. Juhi II.
20. Chilima II or Rugwe.
21. *Ndabiro II.*
22. Ruganzu.
23. Chilima cha Kaseke.
24. Ndore II. Kahindiro Mibambwe IV.
25. Mutara Lwogera.
26. Lwabugiri Kigeri II.
27. Mibambwe V. Juhi III or Musinga.

174 [289] Aside from this list of rulers, I was able to find out little about the history, but if we consider the large number of rulers, as well as the fact that among the revered spirits of the country the kin group Ndaula plays a subordinate role, we come to the probable conclusion that Ruanda has no connection with the states in the southern half of the Runyoro territory. After all, only Kissaka (not Ruanda) is mentioned in connection with the expedition of Ruhinda. On the other hand, the fact that Kagoro, Mugasha, and Wamara are mentioned in the religion of Ruanda, leads us to conclude that there are connections with the old Bunyoro state and the Bachwezi dynasty. According to the number of rulers Ruanda has had, we may trace the founding of the dynasty back to the fifteenth century. We therefore ask ourselves whether the founding of the Ruanda state does not stand in the same relation to the immigration of the Baganda into the interlacustrine region as the founding of Busindja, Karagwe, and Buhaya stands to the immigration of the Babito into Bunyoro. For it is not impossible that the rulers in the northern part of the interlacustrine region, whose peace was disturbed by the Baganda, in turn founded new states in the south.

174 Ruanda, which originally covered the district of Buganza south of Lake Mohasi, was later, in the course of a long period of time, limited to the province of Nduga. It must have been a long time ago, however, since Ruanda outgrew these circumscribed boundaries, for Mukinjaga and Mulera as well have traditions that go back to the rule of Ruganzu, and these provinces certainly did not belong to the original ones. The last Ruganzu is Musinga's fifth ancestor and probably ruled in the first years of the last century. This leads us to assume that the large kingdom of Ruanda is not a newly formed state of the last century, but has a long history.

The legend referring to this is somewhat as follows.

173 Once upon a time Ruganzu came to the Muhawura volcano to hunt elephants. Suddenly the news comes to him that the Barundi have crossed the southern border of his kingdom. He abandons the hunt and goes forth to meet the enemy. On the way he stops on a hill to rest. After a brief interval he continues the journey in his litter (ngobi). After the company had got under way, someone noticed that the king had left his spear on the hill. They shouted back to the hill, asking the people to return the spear that had been left behind. The Balera replied that the king had left them the spear, and if he wanted it back, he should come to get it himself. Whereupon the king answered: "If you had stolen food, I should have believed that you are hungry; if you had stolen cows, I should assume that you want to own them. But to steal a spear, [290] what can it bring you? Let it remain with you, multiply, and strike you dead." That is why there is always fighting in Mulera. The royal curse is upon the land.

In Mukinjaga they say about Ruganzu that he put the bimara tax on the region of Bukunzi as a punishment for the theft of his cows.

173 Ruganzu Iwa Ndahiro (Ruganzu, son of Ndahiro) is the king 443 about whom there are the most legends in Ruanda. He is said to have had supernatural power, and people believe that he might one day return. When, in the year 1904, the news spread that the imperial resident at Usumbura had been murdered, the natives said that Ruganzu had killed him.

175 of Lwabugiri Captain Ramsay came to the country in 1897.
643 Musinga was recognized as the ruler. Captain Ramsay entered
648 into a special pact of blood brotherhood with him or at least with the man that was introduced to him as Musinga. (3) He reports:

[113]

3. Ramsay, Captain, an account of his expeditions to Ruanda and Lake Rikwa, Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. 25 (1898), p. 315.

"Thereupon I had to tie a string around Juhi, and he tied several strings around me; then we shook hands vigorously, and the king of Ruanda and I became blood brothers."

Since that time Musinga has been energetically supported by the government, which, through him, again has the entire country in hand. Musinga has at his disposal the Askari of the guard troops who in an emergency can teach his rebels a lesson. I had occasion to observe this in 1907 in Mulera. With the intervention of this new factor, the country has become orderly to an extent that formerly did not seem possible.

●173 Kissaka. The history of Kissaka cannot be traced as far back as that of Ruanda.

Banyakissaka traditions about ancient times say that they, like the Banyoro and Baganda, came from the north, not from the south, like the Wasukuma.

[293] Kissaka has been a state since very ancient times. According to Busindja (1) tradition, the Kissaka rulers were Basinga.

[113]

1. Van Thiele, Father H., "Businza unter der Dynastie der Bahinda [Businza under the Bahinda Dynasty]," Anthropos, 1911, p. 499.

One of these rulers was married to Nyakachende, the daughter of Ruhinda, and she bore him a successor. From then on the rulers of Kissaka were referred to as Bayango of Ruhinda.

●173 This family must have lost its possessions later on, since the last Kissaka rulers, I was told, were Bagessera, in other words, not true Batutsi either.

I was told that Kimeni Ruahasha was the first ruler of Kissaka. I was unable to find out who his immediate successors were and how many there were. Except for this gap, we have been able to determine the following list of successive rulers.

Kimeni Ruahasha
?
Vunengoma
|
Mutaga
|
Kwezi
|
Luregeya
|
Bazimye
|
Kimeni II
|
Lugeyyo } Pretenders
|
Lukura } Lukura lives with Kahigi

Kimeni II with his son, Msongole, was defeated and murdered by Musinga's grandfather, Lwogera, about the year 1876. Since that time Kissaka has been a part of Ruanda. Msongole's son, Wagazo, however, remained in the country as a subchief of the new king and was still in office 20 years later at the time of Ramsay's expedition (2).

Ramsay, Captain, an account of his expeditions to Ruanda and Lake Rikwa, Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. 25 (1898), p. 310.

●173 The Banyakissaka would not yield to their fate, and the entire country, Batutsi as well as Bahutu, strove for independence. Lwabugiri Kigeri, Musinga's father, undertook two expeditions to Kissaka in order to strengthen Ruanda rule. In 1901 Kissaka made a final effort to win independence from Ruanda by force.

[294] Lukura, grandson of the defeated Kimeni II, son of Lugeyyo (according to Dr. Kandt, son of Wantschurra (1)),

1. Kandt, R., a report on his research in Ruanda, Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, p. 122.

decided to take advantage of Kissaka's discontent with the Ruanda regime. He came to Kissaka from Kyanja where he had been the guest of Kahigi. The people and the Batutsi declared him their ruler, but he soon had to flee because Musinga undertook a military campaign, supported by the [military] station in Usumbura. The leader of Lukura's followers, Mpumbika, was exiled to Urundi where he was still living with Chief Muhini in 1907. Mpumbika, like Lukura, belongs to the Bagessera clan.

After this revolt, the old batware (subchiefs) were dismissed, and the country was put under the administration of three Ruanda chiefs, Kanuma, Niamutezi, and Lutangabo. The gradual replacement of the subchiefs by Banyaruanda (people from Ruanda) did not contribute to a lessening of discontent with the Ruanda regime.

Bugoye. Unlike Kissaka, Bugoye has no history. People only know that the country was conquered by Mutara Lwogera (2), who

2. Beringe, Captain Von, a report on his journeys in the region of the Kirunga volcanoes, Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, p. 34.

drove the chief of the country, Mvunye, to Bunyabungu. It is also known that the country was settled only a few generations ago. The very old people maintain that it was their grandfathers who cleared the wooded country which was unpopulated except for

●173 some Batwa living there. The Batwa were in part driven out, in part assimilated. The latter are known as Batwa bikyugu "Batwa of the inhabited land." Very many colonists came from Kishari and Kameronse, regions north of Lake Kivu. They were driven out of their homes by raids of the cannibalistic Balioko, probably Manyema, or perhaps also of the Babira who were driven out by the Manyema. To this emigration we can probably attribute latent traces of Bakondjo in Bugoye. Besides this wave, the Bambari clan from Ndorwa came to Bugoye, as well as the Bagwabiro from the region of Ischangi on the southern shore of Lake Kivu. The latter are impoverished Batutsi who till fields and own but few cows.

805 Chronology. Time in Ruanda is divided into years, seasons, months (moons), and weeks. The weeks have only five or six days. Thanks to the kindness of Father Buisson, I can herewith give the names of the months used in Kissaka and Ussuwi, opposite the Mulera calendar. The data on Nkole have been taken from Meldon (3). [295]

[113] 3. Meldon, "Notes on the Bahima of Nkole," Journal of the African Society, 1907, p. 137.

805 221

Mulera	Ussuwi	Kissaka	Nkole
I. Kwakira, pea harvest, begin hoeing for millet	Kimguru	Kashantare	Biruru
II. Mutarama, millet sowing	Kakire	Werurwe	Kata
III. Werurwe, weeding millet fields	Mahingo	Kichurasi	Katumba
IV. Mata, sowing green peas (nyagasha)	Ruwoza	Kamena	Ikoma
V. Kichurasi, sowing peas	Muhiranguzu	Nyakanga	Chabahezi
VI. Kamena, one hopes to have plenty to eat soon	Rweru	Katumba	Nyerurue

176 The batabazi are Batutsi because they are associated with
173 the reigning family.

Ryangombe and his Bagaragu. Ryangombe with his bagaragu (clients) and relatives plays the most important role in the Ruanda cult.

176 We have already expressed the opinion that in the traditions about Ryangombe there is a memory of an historical hero. In
● 173 favor of this view we have the story (umugani) given below (which does not say much), and in addition, the fact that Kakuku, Mugasha, Kagoro, and Rubaga are mentioned among his retinue. The latter three are semihistorical personalities and, according to our research, belong to the family that ruled in Bunyoro before the Babito, whereas Kakuku is probably identical with Bukuku from the older Bunyoro dynasty.

Ryangombe's nearest relatives do not seem to play any special role and are mentioned only in reference to the hero. Hence we shall only list them. His father was Ndema, and his grandfather, Migongo. Babinga was his mother, and Nyundo, his grandmother. His wife, Nyakisha, presented him with a child called kachumu kato kato kavira imyuna mumbuga, "a small, small spear stained with blood up to the hilt." According to other accounts, his wife was Kadjumba, and their son, Binego.

In other accounts we find somewhat different statements. Lieutenant Von Parisch (1) calls Ryangombe's wife Njawirungu

1. Parisch, F.R.Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 10.

and his father Bawinda which [303] he has probably confused with the name of the mother, Babinga.

Captain Von Beringe (1), on the other hand, calls

1. Beringe, Captain Von, an account of his journeys in the region of the Kirunga volcanoes, Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, p. 37.

Ryangombe's grandfather Nyundo, his father Bavinga, and his wife Nina Ryangombe. The last name, however, simply means "mother of Ryangombe."

The most important bagaragu (clients) of Ryangombe are Binego, Kavuna, Mugasha, Kakuku, Kagoro, Senyakazana, and Rubaga.

Their subordination to Ryangombe is always strongly emphasized. We can see this also in the fact that before sacrifices can be made to them sacrifices must be made to Ryangombe. Rubaga is the only exception. One can bring him gifts without first having made offerings to Ryangombe.

Special forms and ceremonies are observed in offerings made to these individual spirits.

In sacrificing to Binego the person stands with lowered head and murmurs: "Binego bya Kadjumba nyamunega amafizi amabuguma akapfa numulindu. Lukaraba nkaba n'inkuba yadjandja. Ulwamba lw'impiri namaganya y'inkuba aseseka ntanyobwe umushaidja mukanya." I could not find out what this means.

Small straw huts are built to Kavuna. He is offered banana beer with added honey in twin-necked pots. Formerly the sacrificer covered himself with a leopard skin. As he makes the sacrifice, he stretches out his hands and sings: "Kavuna ushime ntango yawe (Kavuna, accept my offering)."

If a person makes a sacrifice to Mugasha, he winds the bark of banana stalks around his legs, arms, and neck. He holds the thin end of a stick in his right hand, stamps his feet, beats the ground with the stick, and repeats: "Mugasha akatema katoke niribiriri, niribirimbo."

Kakuku was an old paralyzed slave. If a person wishes to address him, he first smears his arms with ashes, then he scratches his skin, weeps, and sighs. Peas which are sacrificed are held with the finger bent, because the paralytic could eat only in this manner.

Kagoro is offered small arrows of wood or iron with the words, "busenda bwa Kagoro."

Senyakazana is offered peas and lentils, called inkore.

Rubaga is the greatest after Ryangombe, and he is also offered cows.

781 . In Kissaka soothsaying with calabashes is also said to be practiced. Father Van Thiele describes it as follows. The soothsayer has two calabashes filled with seed kernels. He sits on a small stool, dressed in the hide of a jackal in such a way that the head of the animal lies on the head of the soothsayer and the tail hangs down behind. He shakes the two gourds and makes the kernels rattle. After a while he stops, puts the gourds aside, takes off the skin, and lies down on the floor. After a period of concentration the soothsayer announces his oracle and is paid.

Another type of soothsaying is that of the speaking calabash and the speaking goatskin, nyabukobwa. This was supposed to have prophesied the arrival of Europeans from the east at the time of the last independent king of Kissaka (Kimeni II). Father Van Thiele reports that he found a reed flute in the nyabukobwa which played when the bag was squeezed and air escaped.

[323] In Mulera the little board oracle is common. The soothsayer grasps the handle of a small, hollowed out, trough-shaped board 40 centimeters long, 15 centimeters wide, and one to two centimeters deep. With his other hand he tosses into the air a few times several seeds, some little metal discs, small sheep bones, and a piece of gourd. The piece of gourd is called umwami (king). The iron discs represent the bazimu (spirits) of men, and the sheep bones, those of women. They are always skillfully caught. After they have been sufficiently mixed, they are thrown on the little board. The answer is found in the way they are spread out.

781 The natives of Ruanda tell about prophecies several years back that foretold the coming of the Europeans.

173 Thus, years ago the then mighty father of Kaizuka was said to have known that a conqueror, different from all men known up to that time and one having power over thunder, would come from the east and would change the internal conditions of Ruanda. This prophecy was generally known and induced Monseigneur Hirth to choose the route via Usumbura and Urundi for the mission to avoid possible difficulties that might result from this prophecy. In 1905 when the king became aware of changed conditions, it is said that Kaizuka, the son of the prophet of doom, was robbed of his possessions and had his eyes gouged out.

787 There is a story of a similar prophecy for Ruasa. Formerly
● 173 the hill on which the mission is now located had a quite unintelligible name, busakaza itaka, allegedly, "land where earth is used to cover." About 15 years ago a man prophesied that "red men" would come and that their house would be covered with earth. When the missionaries came and covered their buildings with bricks, the words made sense, and the prophecy was fulfilled. There is a similar story about Bugoye.

787 I could not understand the Banyaruanda views about dreams.
773 What one sees in a dream is a matter pertaining to the past or the future if it is contrary to the present. If one has seen deceased persons in a dream, it is said that the spirits of the dead came visiting. Such a dream is usually followed by a sacrifice, for it is assumed that the spirits are suffering and that they appear in order to beg for help. If a person disregards this he might suffer evil consequences, for the neglected spirits would avenge themselves.

787 If a youth sees his bride in a dream, he does not marry her. The dream warns him against a marriage in which the partners would not get along.

Father F. Dufays once dreamed that one of his black friends burst because he drank too much beer. When he told this to the man in question on the next morning, [324] the man was frightened and began to cry. When he was asked the reason for his tears, he said that whatever one sees in a dream comes to pass.

755 The Practice of Medicine. A special form of medical treatment, cure through initiation into a secret society, has already been described. This is not all there is to medical practice, however, and it is not always employed. Not all sorcerers, soothsayers, and medicine men belong to the secret societies of babandwa. The act of appeasing the spirits with eleusine (buro) seems to be carried out by ordinary soothsayers (bapfumu) in order to free patients from afflictions caused by troublesome spirits.

In Kissaka where I was told a great deal about the "appeasement of spirits" with eleusine, the procedure is somewhat as follows.

The mupfumu takes a small calabash known as ntendere and fills it with eleusine. He adds nzuzi seeds, kaolin powder, and a bone from the forefoot of a cow. The soothsayer rubs the palm of

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

762 When a man committed suicide, he was buried as usual;
766 but a medicine-man was summoned to tell by augury whether
787 the house had to be deserted or was still fit to live in.

RELIGION

773 I received a statement respecting the religion of the Batuse
[115] from Captain Phillips, the District Commissioner. They were,
[776] he said, monotheistic and had a chief priest who was initiated into his office by a journey up a certain mountain where there
[778] was said to be a flock of sheep sacred to the god. This was a
[782] dangerous exploit, but before a man was accepted as priest he had to go there with a sheep, which he offered to the god.

This chief priest kept all the fetishes and carried out all religious observances for the king, who kept neither fetishes nor priests about him. When there was any illness or other trouble, the king sent a bull, a sheep, or a fowl (in the case of
[787] war, a bull, a ram, or a cock) to the priest, and an augury was taken from the flow of blood and from the markings on the lungs and intestines.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE KING

The kings of Ruanda—government and taxation by the king—food of the king—wives of the king—heir to the king—death of the king—mourning—burial—accession—the king's mother and her brother

643 THE list of the kings of Ruanda was given as follows: Kigwa,
●173 who came from heaven—his son, Kimanuke, who begat Randa — Merano — Kobo — Gihanga — Kalyaruanda — Ruganza — Kirimu — Kigeri — Mutabazi — Gahima — Ndahiru — Ndole — Muhenzi — Namuhesera — Sekalongoro — Huhi — Kirima — Ndabalasa — Mubamwhe — Gahiridirwa — Lwogera — Lwabugiri — Lutariridwa, who was killed by his brother Musinga, who still reigns.

692 The king's court was the court of appeal for all his subjects
645 and his council was composed of the high chiefs.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

sphere, there was the initiation of a member of the inzu into the Ryangombe sect. Ryangombe was supposed to have been during his life the chief of a small band of friends and clients. He was accidentally killed by a buffalo during a hunting party. Unwilling to leave Ryangombe, his friends threw themselves on the buffalo's horns. Imana gave them a special place, the Karisimbi, a former volcano, where they were believed to enjoy a notably more agreeable life than the other spirits. In order to have the privilege of joining them there and of enjoying their protection while living, Ruanda had to be initiated into Ryangombe's sect (to be initiated: *kubandwa*). This sect was not a permanent organization, in the sense that churches are. It was only for an initiation ceremony that people who were members of the candidate's inzu as well as members of the sect, came together. An initiator and the different people who were going to impersonate the imandwa (Ryangombe's friends) were chosen from the inzu concerned. The initiation ceremony took place in a hut, secretly (in the sense that non-initiates were not admitted, but not in the sense that affiliation to the sect was kept secret). It was an occasion for the gathering of the inzu as the great majority of its members, men and women, particularly among the Hutu, were initiated.

A second collective ritual was celebrated yearly in the inzu to honour the ancestor of the lineage (*guterekera*: to make an offering to a *muzimu*—a spirit). Presents were offered in the little hut dedicated to the ancestor's spirit in the lineage head's compound. They consisted of what the deceased person liked most in life (milk, hydromel, beans, &c.). This celebration lasted six days and six nights and took place after the sorghum harvesting, in July. There was a kind of ritual meal at the inzu head's compound in which every descendant of the ancestor participated (a cow, a goat, or beans were eaten according to the means of the people). This custom was more widespread among the Hutu than among the Tutsi, where, also, more restraint in eating, drinking, and feasting was observed.

Another collective activity of the inzu was the meeting of councils in which all the important members of the inzu sat. Sometimes all the adults joined, but it was certain that the opinions of only the old, wealthy, and politically powerful men would prevail. The questions discussed concerned proposals of

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

To provide the central government with regular revenues, to maintain its predominant and privileged situation, and to favour social cohesion, were the functions of the administrative structure. Moreover, as any authority in Ruanda, the land-chief was judge in the disputes concerning rights over land. The cattle-chief, however, had no judicial capacity because disputes about cattle were dealt with by the army-chief.

Impositions and taxes exist in all societies which have a centralized organization of political power. Rulers to maintain their dominant position need to be able to dispose of great revenues. The more centralized a government is, the larger is the amount of goods needed because the administrative officers are numerous.[13]

This political necessity of taxation has been justified differently according to the ideology of each culture.[14] Thus in modern democratic states, taxes are said to be the contribution of each citizen to the maintenance of services used by all members of the community, such as roads open to everybody, a police force which protects property and life against internal dangers, courts and tribunals for those who feel that they have been wronged and want to obtain reparation, an army which protects the community against an external threat, &c.

In Ruanda, tributes in labour and goods to the mwami were justified by the nature of the royal power. Kingship was divine. The first king of Ruanda, Nkuba (which means lightning), lived in heaven with his wife Nyagasani, their two sons Kigwa and Mututsi, and their daughter, Nyampundu. One day the three siblings fell from heaven and settled on a Ruanda hill. There Kigwa married his sister. Their descendents constituted the Abanyiginya clan. Mututsi, Kigwa's brother, married one of his nieces. Their descendents were the Abega. The two royal clans (usually the Abanyiginya married Abega girls) had thus a divine origin.[15] From this godlike nature of the mwami followed the justification of his absolute power and of the sovereignty of his rights over the people, the cattle, and the land of Ruanda. By virtue of that divine sovereignty, the king could require tribute. Because everything and everybody was his, he could confiscate any cattle or agricultural produce, and take the labour or even the life of anybody.

This was the theory. In fact the mwami did not use his prerogatives more than the rulers who were not divine but had the same means

[13] Maquet, 1952. [14] Maquet, 1954a, p. 63. [15] See Pagès, 1933, p. 491.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

The Ruanda military structure appears thus to have been in its warlike role an organization for conquering and looting rather than for defence. But this warlike function was not its only one and perhaps not the most important in the appreciation of many Ruanda. Whereas almost all our informants (ninety-eight per cent.) still remember the name of the army in which their inzu had been incorporated first, only a smaller proportion is able to remember certain features concerning exclusively the warlike life. Only sixty-eight per cent. still know that *abakoni* were warriors whose task was to lay hold of cattle during the battle, sixty-nine per cent. that *umudende* was a badge of honour given to those who had killed seven enemies during a campaign; just fourteen per cent. can define *impotore* as the distinction granted to those who had killed fourteen enemies and merely eleven per cent. remember that *gucana uruti* (to burn the spears) was a ceremonial to honour warriors who had killed twenty-one enemies during an expedition. This less extensive knowledge of purely warlike aspects of the army is not to be accounted for merely by the fact that one does not organize raids now and that an opportunity to kill twenty-one enemies during an expedition does not arise frequently. As the whole military structure, even in its well-remembered aspects, became obsolete at about the same time as wars, the relatively poor knowledge of its warlike features suggests that the other functions of the armies were felt to be very important.

(*b*) *Socialization*

Every society is much concerned with socializing or 'enculturalizing'[20] the younger generation. Ways of life, common abilities, values, and beliefs of the group have to be inculcated into children in order to make them efficient and conforming participants of their own culture.

In Ruanda this process of socialization was formalized for Tutsi young men. During the years they spent at the court of the king or of a chief, they were systematically given education and instruction. Education is that part of a socialization process which aims at transmitting the bulk of knowledge and behaviour expected from any well-adjusted member of a group. Young Tutsi were taught the traditional sports and dances becoming to young noblemen, they were trained in poetry and the ability to carry on an eloquent and witty conversation. The great traditions of military

[20] Herskovits, 1948, pp. 33 ff.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

refrain from decisions which could have impaired the economic production of the country, such as requiring tributes which were too heavy, or which could have lowered the level of personal security to such an extent that people would have preferred to flee abroad.[23] Moreover, profound legislative modifications would have roused the resistance of the *biru*. Nevertheless, his powers were still extremely great. A fact which reinforced and consolidated them was the tradition of the long past of the dynasty. The present mwami, Mutara III Rudahigwa is regarded as the fortieth king of Ruanda. Even if the first twenty names are considered as legendary, three or four centuries is a considerable past for a dynasty. The Abanyiginya clan has indeed been able to keep the kingship of Ruanda as long as kings are remembered.

The mwami was not only of divine origin but he was Ruanda personified. This mystical identification with the country resulted in numerous avoidances and a very careful behaviour was expected from the mwami. What happened to him would reverberate, as it were, over the country. He should not bend his knees, for instance, lest Ruanda's territory would shrink.

Royal succession was not completely fixed by custom. The heir was chosen by the king from among his sons. He was generally one of the youngest because the strength of Ruanda was magically connected with the king's strength. The name of the chosen one was kept secret. Even the future mwami did not know it. It was revealed only after the king's death by the three most important biru whom the mwami had entrusted with his decision. The other sons and their mothers generally did not agree willingly to the choice and there was often a period of unrest, even of civil war, before the new mwami became an effective ruler.[24]

A new name was given to the new king, one of the five royal names which were chosen according to the same sequence: Cyrilima, Kigeli, Nibambwe, Yuhi, Mutara. The kings named Cyilima, Yuhi, and Mutara were called 'peaceful bami'. They were not allowed to cross the Nyabarongo, a river which runs in the centre of the country, not far from Nyanza, the capital, and this symbolized the fact that they should not send their armies abroad. This rule very wisely allowed the country to recuperate and to assimilate new territories conquered during a preceding warlike reign.

[23] Maquet, 1953. [24] See Gluckman, 1954, p. 8.